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GISCARD ELECTED IN TIGHT RACE

A Record Turnout Points Up Division

By Jonathan C. Randal

PARIS, May 19 (WP).—Conservative Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing defeated François Mitterrand, the candidate of the united left, in an extremely close runoff election today to become president of France.

In a victory statement shortly after 11 p.m., Mr. Giscard d'Estaing sent greetings to his "unlucky competitor" and predicted that Mr. Mitterrand would have a role to play in the present and future of French politics.

Clearly reflecting the lessons of the vote, the new president promised "you will not be disappointed" by the "political, economic and social" changes he pledged during the six-week campaign.

More than an hour later, Mr. Mitterrand formally conceded the election. He attributed his defeat to a coalition of the establishment and "the powers of money" and vowed that "something has started which is not about to stop," while pleading for the left to remain united.

The Interior Ministry announced that with 98 percent of the voting stations reporting, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing had 13,214,848 votes, or 50.7 percent, to 12,842,534 or 49.3 percent, for Mr. Mitterrand. Some of the vote from the overseas territories remained to be counted but cannot affect the result.

Computer projections gave the 42-year-old finance minister the victory soon after the closing of the polls at 8 p.m. The election mobilized a record turnout, showing that interest was high and the country evenly divided. Only 12.1 percent of the registered voters abstained.

Two weeks ago, the French ended 16 years of Gaullist domination by eliminating the Gaullist candidate, Jacques Chaban-Delmas—and nine other candidates—in the first-round vote. The clear runoff message was that the country demanded change.

Leftist Alliance

Although Mr. Mitterrand, 57, had not yet formally conceded, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's supporters started honking their car horns and driving up and down the Avenue des Champs-Élysées around 10 p.m. in the ritual celebration of political victory.

Pending detailed analysis of the runoff vote, the narrow margin of Mr. Mitterrand's defeat was generally ascribed to the controversial alliance between the resurgent Socialists and the powerful French Communist party.

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and his principal lieutenants hammered incessantly at the danger of having Communists holding a third of a new government's ministries, which was implicit in a Mitterrand victory.

Spokesmen for both major leftist parties made it clear that they intend to exert maximum vigilance to oblige Mr. Giscard d'Estaing to make good on his leftist campaign promises, ranging from increased old-age pensions and minimum wages to lowering the voting age from 21 to 19.

Although the left's spokesmen stressed that they would honor the election results, observers were fearful of industrial strife stemming from the closeness of the vote, inflation running at an annual rate of 17 percent and possible recession brought about by the increased costs of oil imports.

But Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's victory apparently simplified the purely political problems arising from the death of President Georges Pompidou on April 2.

Majority Alliance

Despite the wounds left by Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's first-round elimination of Mr. Chaban-Delmas, the new president can count on the Gaullists in the National Assembly to form a new government. The Gaullists control 181 of the assembly's 490 seats, with Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's own party—the Independent Republicans—holding 55 seats, and their new and old centrist allies accounting for 60 more deputies.

Had Mr. Mitterrand won, observers were convinced that he would have had to dissolve the National Assembly and call new legislative elections either immediately or within a few months.



François Mitterrand (above) surrounded by well-wishers in Châteauneuf-Chinon where he voted yesterday and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (right) voting in Chamalières.

Israel Says It, Syria Can Accept Kissinger-Proposed Truce Line

By Bernard Gwertzman

RUSALAH, May 19 (NYT).—Israel's defense minister, Moshe Dayan, said today that it and Syria could both accept the ceasefire line proposed by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to clear the way for a near-term separation agreement on the Golan Heights.

Mr. Dayan's statement by Israeli Information Minister Shimon Peres followed three hours of discussions between Mr. Kissinger and Israeli Premier Golda Meir and their top aides on the day following the disengagement agreement now being worked out.

Mr. Kissinger, who was in the city for the first time since the ceasefire, said that the ceasefire line was the best compromise between the two sides.

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HAULED IN—Jerusalem police struggle with man near Premier Golda Meir's office yesterday who was demonstrating against any disengagement of forces agreement.

newspaper accounts said, Israel was yielding all 325 square miles of Syrian territory captured in the 1973 war plus a slice of the eastern Golan Heights captured in 1967, including the former Syrian provincial administrative capital of Hama.

The land yielded on Mount Hermon, overlooking the battlefield and much of Syria, will go to United Nations troops, one of the papers said, giving the Syrians no strategic advantage.

Israel troops will retain control of three hills west of Kuneitra and the city itself will be rebuilt and resettled by the Syrians, the papers said.

The three hills guard the three forwardmost Israeli settlements established by Israel in the area since it captured the heights. They overlook Kuneitra and the road to Damascus.

Demarcation Line
Until yesterday, the key issue holding up a breakthrough was the small but significant difference between Syria and Israel over the placement of the demarcation line marking the extent of Israeli withdrawal from occupied Syrian territory.

Mr. Kissinger had let it be known that he believed he could negotiate the rest of the disengagement agreement once he had the line worked out.

Although a senior American official had said that in geographic terms the two sides had been only a mile or so apart, Syria and Israel apparently could not bridge that gap until Mr. Kissinger offered his compromise proposal.

These were first broached in Damascus on Thursday night, discussed at length with the Israelis on Friday and tentatively accepted by Mr. Assad yesterday.

Last night, Mr. Kissinger, upon his return to Israel, discussed the situation with the Israelis and the Israeli cabinet formally gave its endorsement of his compromise.

After the cabinet meeting, Mr. Kissinger and his top aides met with the Israelis for a wide-ranging discussion of the disengagement package.

Following that meeting, Mr. Peres said, "The attitude of the Israeli delegation to the American proposal was a very favorable and a very positive one. I think the line which was proposed by the secretary of state is of such a nature that both sides can accept it."

Mr. Kissinger was described by an intimate today as having been "terribly depressed" yesterday morning when he thought he would probably have to return to Washington without an accord.

Today, however, he was clearly in a good mood. He sat beside the King David Hotel swimming pool for part of the afternoon with his wife, Nancy, occasionally walking over to joke with a few newsmen.

But American officials, including Mr. Kissinger, continued to caution that there were still important details to be arranged on collateral issues and that it was premature to say that the agreement was wrapped up.

Diplomatic Caution
This was interpreted by most of the newsmen as normal diplomatic caution.

Among the items remaining on the agenda were the size of the buffer zone that would be set up between Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights, the role for the UN to play in supervising that zone, the limit to be placed on each side's military forces in the zones adjacent to the buffer zone and the release of prisoners.

In addition, Israel in particular wants certain guarantees from the United States such as those included but not published in January's Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreement. These include willingness by the United States to conduct impartial reconnaissance flights over the area and a firm commitment by the United States that it would use its veto to prevent the dissolution of the UN force in the area.

Some essential services, such as food and drug stores, transportation and medical services were still operating. But Belfast municipal authorities warned that sewage could soon be flowing in the streets and polluting rivers. If power were to be completely shut off, there would be no drinking water.

Within hours of his declaration, the Protestant militants' Ulster Workers Council backed off on its threat of a total electricity blackout. It said that power supplies would be maintained at a level "necessary to insure the safety of the system" and essential services.

The workers' council said that it was withdrawing its total blackout threat on the condition that troops not be sent to the power plants, United Press International reported.

Council sources said that power cuts would continue but that hospitals and other essential facilities would receive enough electricity to function.

The council's strike is directed at a pact signed in December between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic which gives Roman Catholics a share in running the province and would set up a council of Ireland.

The Protestants view the pact signed at Sunningdale, west of London—as a sellout by Britain and the first step toward a unification of Ireland.

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In Seeing Foreign Leaders Shah Adroitly Mixes Diplomacy With Oil

By James F. Clarity

TEHRAN, May 19 (UPI)—The Shah of Iran, who predicts that "the great civilization" he fosters here will gradually make Iran a major world power, has begun to press his strategy for making his country an increasingly dominant force in the Middle East and southern Asia. Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, with virtually authoritarian control of his country's political life, has been using standard diplomatic

laced with promises of oil and other economic help in dealing with the visiting leaders of several less stable, poorer countries in the region.

During visits since the beginning of April by the leaders of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, the Iranian monarch sought to strengthen Iran's influence in the area stretching roughly from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.

The Shah sought to persuade the visitors that political calm in the area, and Iranian economic aid, could be secured by the adoption of public positions that did not dispute the tenets of Iranian foreign policy, including continuing Iranian hostility toward Iraq, growing Iranian military strength in the Persian Gulf and the Shah's acquiescence to American plans to increase U.S. naval power in the Indian Ocean.

The visiting leaders, who still have unresolved and irritating problems with each other and with Iran, praised the Shah's government, minimized their disputes with him and left for home with promises of friendship and cooperation.

Other nations sending high-level delegations to Tehran include Turkey, Morocco, Egypt and Syria. The Turks, after years of telling Iranians they were more interested in trade with Europe, are seeking more Iranian exports through Turkish ports. A Moroccan official recently left after receiving promises of increased trade and friendlier relations. In the next few days, Syria and Egypt, despite their strong ties with Iraq, will send cabinet ministers here.

Of Iran's neighbors, only Iraq remains outside the Shah's welcome. The most recent border clashes between the two countries were reported in early March—a study of their differences is under way and neither Iranian nor Iraqi officials here indicate that there is any hope for an early improvement of relations. Iran's relations with the Soviet Union, to the north, have been calm for years.

Mrs. Gandhi Visits
During the visits of the leaders from Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, oil and politics were neatly mixed. Indira Gandhi, who was the first Indian prime minister to come here in 15 years, agreed to a communiqué that seemed to say India and Iran are the best of friends.

In the joint document, Mrs. Gandhi agreed that India understood Iran's problems with Iraq. India has close economic relations with Iraq, whose military pilots are trained by Indians.

During the talks here, India received promises that Iran would seriously consider increasing the supply of crude oil to the Indian refinery at Madras and financing its needed capital improvements. India already receives Iranian oil on relatively good terms. India promised to send teachers, technicians and doctors to Iran.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan and the Shah reached an agreement that would give Pakistan Iranian oil on "special and friendly terms." The two also discussed the possibility of Iran's financing two cotton mills and a cement plant in Pakistan.

thing he had stood for during his 11 years in the Finance Ministry.

Despite such rhetoric, the seeds of Mr. Mitterrand's defeat were apparent when, in the first-round vote, he won 43.2 percent of the vote—but not the 45 percent of the vote—the psychological breakthrough point needed for victory in the runoff.

Political scientists working on the basis of computer results estimated tonight that Mr. Giscard d'Estaing won about 50 percent of Mr. Chaban-Delemas's first-round vote, despite the calls of the Communists asking Giscard to vote Mitterrand in the runoff.

Active Campaign
But political scientists gave the left credit for having conducted an active door-to-door campaign between the two rounds which persuaded some—not all—veteran Communists and Socialists to overcome their reluctance and vote for Mr. Mitterrand in the runoff.

Many veteran members of both parties abstained in the first-round vote to demonstrate their disapproval of the 1969 alliance, which ended a quarter-century of cold war between the two parties.

Although Mr. Giscard d'Estaing refused to name names, he did promise that the new government would include many young and new faces. Favored for the prime minister's slot is Olivier Guichard, a veteran Gaullist whose good relations with the new President are symbolized by the marriage of his daughter with the son of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's principal lieutenant, Michel Delemas.

Mr. Guichard is seen as Giscard's favorite to carry through the general election, which will be a multi-party job—headed by the important Equipment and Transport Ministry in the last government.



Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and wife in Sydney home after election.

Labor Edge Seen in Australian Vote Count

SYDNEY, May 19 (UPI)—Political observers, basing their forecasts on the latest returns, said today that Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's Labor party could be returned to power with a reduced majority of three in the House of Representatives after yesterday's close elections.

But election officials said that it could still be several days before the final results were known. The Labor party held a nine-seat majority in the House during its 16 months in office.

However, Mr. Whitlam and op-

position leader Billy Snedden were not claiming victory or conceding defeat.

With about 70 percent of the returns counted, it was still unclear whether Mr. Whitlam's Labor party or Mr. Snedden's Liberal-Country coalition would control the 127-member House or the 60-member Senate. There also was no decision on four referendums designed to transfer more power to the federal government.

The latest returns gave the Labor party control of or leads

in races for 62 seats in the House and put the coalition winning or well ahead in 51 contests. The remaining seats were still undecided including at least six which had been held by the Labor party.

Mr. Whitlam was prodded into calling a general election last month after the opposition took the unusual step of blocking two routine money bills in the Senate.

Continuing inflation and other troubles had hurt the government and given the opposition hopes of winning.

A Holdup Drill In Japan Was The Real Thing

OSAKA, Japan, May 19 (AP)—The police were searching today for a masked bandit who robbed a bank here of 40 million yen (about \$143,000) by posing as a police officer carrying out a drill to prevent bank holdups.

The police described it as the biggest daylight bank holdup in Japan.

Israeli Laborites Vote for Dovish Coalition Group

TEL AVIV, May 19 (AP)—Israel's dominant Labor party voted today to form a narrow coalition government that promised to be the most dovish in years.

The party's ruling central committee voted 302 to 36 with six abstentions to ask the Independent Liberal party, a former coalition partner, and the civil rights movement, Shalomit Aloni, to join the new government.

It would be only the second government in Israel's history to exclude the National Religious party, which has maintained control over all religious matters since the state's inception. But the Labor party also decided to appeal to the rabbinical leadership to reconsider its decision not to join.

Premier-designate Yitzhak Rabin has not said who will be new ministers, but most political veterans think outgoing Premier Golda Meir, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Finance Minister Pinchas Sapir will not be in the new cabinet.

LONDON, May 19 (UPI)—Soviet military intervention seems have been questioning Israeli prisoners held in Damascus since the October Middle East war. The Sunday Times said today.

"The interrogators have employed medical and other techniques to break the resistance of the Israelis and several of the prisoners have apparently talked," it said.

The Sunday Times attributed its information to "exceptionally highly placed Arab military and political sources."

It said one drug used by Soviet interrogators—although not necessarily on the Israeli prisoners—was succinyl choline, which causes "convulsive muscular spasms, then leaves the victim totally paralyzed, unable to breathe, in agonizing pain—but wholly conscious."

The drug wears off in two minutes or less and then the victim is threatened with another dose unless he talks, the newspaper said.

**Libya Reports on Aid
Given to Egypt, Syria**

BEIRUT, May 19 (UPI)—Libya said today that it had extended a \$20-million loan to Syria. It also published an inventory of the assistance that it has extended to Egypt and Syria during the October war.

The Libyan news agency quoted a Tripoli newspaper as saying that Libya paid \$113 million for 70 Soviet-made Mig-21 jet fighters, which were shipped from Russia to the Arab fronts at the height of the fighting. The agency said Libya also paid for ammunition, fuel, spare parts, helicopters and reconnaissance and radio equipment, worth millions of dollars.

Arab-Israeli Brawls
LONDON, May 19 (UPI)—Brawls broke out between Arab and Israeli supporters today when a pro-Arab crowd of about 2,000 tried to march on the Israeli Embassy, the police said.

Israeli Boats Said to Kill 8 In Shelling of Lebanon Coast

BEIRUT, May 19 (AP)—Four Israeli gunboats, protected by an umbrella of jet warplanes, today bombarded a Palestinian camp near Tyre, Lebanon's southernmost city. A Lebanese Defense Ministry communiqué said that one gunboat was hit by shore batteries.

Initial reports said that six civilians and two Palestinian guerrillas were killed, four civilians were wounded and a number of dwellings were destroyed at the Rashidiya refugee camp, two miles south of Tyre and about nine miles north of the Israeli border.

An announcement from Israel said that the boats shelled "buildings and installations occupied by terrorist units." It said that all the boats returned safely from the raid.

The camp's 12,000 inhabitants make it the second largest Palestinian refugee in Lebanon. It is controlled by one of the most militant guerrilla groups, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The bombardment this afternoon lasted a little more than an hour, during which the Israeli aircraft overhead did not fire at the camp.

The Lebanese Defense Ministry said that "all our heavy guns participated in firing" on the raiders, which it said were four to six miles offshore. "Smoke was seen pouring from one of the boats after it took a direct hit," the ministry said.

The attack from the sea followed two days of Israeli air raids on Lebanon in retaliation for the

Palestinian guerrilla attack Wednesday on a school in Maalot, Israel. Twenty Israeli schoolchildren were killed and 70 wounded in what has become known as the "Maalot massacre."

The three guerrilla raiders and seven other persons also were slain.

The ensuing air strikes on four Palestinian refugee camps and three Lebanese villages killed more than 50 persons, most of them civilians, and left nearly 200 wounded and missing.

Today's assault was the first by Israeli naval units against Palestinian camps in Lebanon since February, 1973, when gunboats bombarded the northern coast and landed Israeli commandos at the Nahr al-Bared camp near Tripoli. In that raid, 18 Palestinian guerrillas and civilians were killed.

Israeli Navy boats landed commandos who raided the heart of Beirut on April 10 last year, assassinating three Palestinian guerrilla leaders. There was no naval shelling then.

In other action today, the Lebanese Defense Ministry here said, troops fired at and drove back two Israeli patrols attempting to take up positions in the Lebanese foothills of Mount Hermon at midday. It said the Israelis retaliated with a "concentrated" shelling of the surrounding area. The ministry's communiqué said there were no casualties in this clash.

Yesterday, the Lebanese cabinet approved a \$1-billion plan to upgrade this nation's armed forces.

An announcement said that the amount, spread over 10 years, would be used for the purchase of rockets and other urgently needed modern weapons, and for increasing the size of the army, which has 15,000 men.

Golan Guns Duel
TEL AVIV, May 19 (UPI)—Israel said that its troops and Syrians fought artillery duels today and three Israelis were wounded. It was the 69th successive day of fighting on the Golan Heights.

Earthquake Jolts Peru
LIMA, May 19 (Reuters)—A strong earth quake hit central Peru Friday but there were no immediate reports of casualties or damage.

DEFIANT ATTITUDE—Armed Palestinian women giving victory sign in one of refugee camps in southern Lebanon that was bombed by Israelis last week.

Associated Press.

Associated Press.

Associated Press.

Associated Press.

Soldiers in UN Mideast Force Recalled

Irish Republic Starts Security Clampdown

DUBLIN, May 19 (AP)—The Irish government ordered a major security clampdown yesterday and set up new checkpoints along the border with Northern Ireland in the aftermath of Friday's terrorist bomb attacks.

At the same time, the government asked the United Nations to release 340 Irish soldiers from the Middle East peace-keeping force. The government said the soldiers will be needed to man the border checkpoints to stop and search all cars driving into the republic from the North.

In Cairo, a UN Emergency Force spokesman said Irish troops serving with the UNEF were to be repatriated from Tel Aviv on Wednesday. The Irish force manned a zone from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to a point 20 kilometers to the south in Sinai, spokesman Rudolf Stajdhar said today. All the men will leave except 40 who will look after equipment and small arms. They will be repatriated at a later date.

The checkpoints were part of an intensification of security along the 260-mile border with Northern Ireland, the main scene of the violence that spilled over into the republic Friday, killing 28 persons and wounding 150.

No Warning Given
Three big car bombs exploded in the center of Dublin within minutes of each other at 8:30 p.m. when the district was packed with shoppers. The explosions occurred without warning, killing 23 persons, including several infants. Earlier reports had put the death toll in Dublin at 25. Another car bomb killed five persons in Monaghan, a border town.

The police believe at least eight persons were injured in the bombings. "We believe some of these men may still be trapped inside the republic," a police spokesman said.

At least three persons were being questioned as a result of the stringent security checks set up around the republic.

The authorities were reluctant to accuse any of the terrorist groups operating in Ireland, but they strongly suspected that Protestant extremists from Northern Ireland were behind the outrage. These extremists oppose any link with the republic.

Tougher Laws Seen
Informed sources said the government was expected to press for tougher laws against Irish Republican Army guerrillas. The Roman Catholic-dominated underground movement, fighting to drive the British from Northern Ireland and unite the province with the republic, was not blamed for Friday's blasts, but many Irishmen believed it was the IRA's presence in the republic that provoked the bombings.

Irish newspapers urged harsher anti-terrorist measures. Dublin's Evening Herald declared in an editorial: "If new legislation should be required to defeat the killers, let it be enacted, if the

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Mr. Chou had switched to Mr. Mao's left, and the symbolic importance of such a switch would not be lost on the Chinese.

Last week Mr. Chou unexpectedly failed to appear at a state dinner given by visiting President Leopold Senghor of Senegal. Mr. Chou had met Mr. Senghor when he arrived and had attended the first state dinner to his honor. But he was said to be too sick to attend the second dinner and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien stood in for him.

Mr. Li also participated in the political talks with Mr. Senghor and accompanied Mr. Chou during the traditional visit with Chairman Mao.

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And why was Mr. Teng rather mysteriously elevated to the Politburo in January when all the other Politburo members were announced in August after the 10th party congress? The congress itself was unusually brief and was called without the usual preliminary buildup.

Too little is known to adequately answer those questions, but behind the facade of the present campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Communism there appears to be a struggle for succession.

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As for Mr. Chou's future, diplomats have commented recently that the premier has not been in

day for the iron fist has dawned, so be it."

The intensified security was announced yesterday by Justice Minister Patrick Cosgrave after Premier Liam Cosgrave had held his second emergency cabinet session in 24 hours. Mr. Cosgrave said permanent checkpoints

would be set up along the border and a recruitment launched to beef up military strength.

The police cleared down Dublin yesterday after receiving anonymous warnings that 10 bombs had been planted in city center.

News Analysis
**Chou's Status, Teng's Rise
Bemuse the China Watchers**

By H.D.S. Greenway

HONG KONG (UPI)—The state visit of Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, to China is being watched with more than the usual interest here for signs of Premier Chou En-lai's continuing withdrawal from many of the diplomatic functions that usually surround these visits.

When the archbishop arrived in Peking Friday, it was Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping who met him at the airport, not Mr. Chou, and China watchers will be watching for further signs that Mr. Teng has been chosen to take over the responsibilities Mr. Chou once kept for himself.

Mr. Teng presided at a state dinner last night for Archbishop Makarios. He said he had been entrusted by Premier Chou to be the host at the dinner.

Although there is no reason to doubt the 76-year-old premier's fatigue or the need for someone to take over some of his protocol functions, the premier's delegation of responsibility goes far deeper than mere protocol and there are reasons to believe that there may be political motives involved as well as physical ones.

The whole business has been too carefully stage-managed to be explained solely in terms of a sudden physical falling. China watchers suggest that what the world may be seeing is Mr. Chou's gradual abdication from the day-to-day running of the government, which he has so dominated since the fall of Lin Biao in 1971.

Mission to UN
It has increasingly appeared that Mr. Teng is being groomed for power in the field of foreign affairs, and perhaps for bigger things. His mission to the United Nations last month was evidence of this, and the recent photograph of Mr. Teng in Mr. Chou's oil suit on the right hand of Mao Tse-tung during Mr. Bhutto's visit was even more compelling.

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**China Denies
It Has Base
In Tanzania**

By Kathleen Teltsch

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., May 19 (UPI)—China and Tanzania have complained about a report that shows Peking as having a military base on Tanzania territory.

In response, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim has ordered three independent experts to draft the study to review the report and the "necessary" connection between the two.

The report at issue is a study on the great power's military presence in the Indian Ocean made by three outside experts: Frank Barnby, director of the International Peace Research Institute in Stockholm; St. Sahai, a retired Indian army and K. Subramanyam, director of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses in New Delhi.

U.S. officials reportedly chagrined by the study's suggestion that China has a relatively lighter treatment of Soviet Union's involvement, no U.S. objections have been officially.

The report concluded plans to convert Britain's Zanzibar Island of Diego Garcia into a fully equipped air base for U.S. forces would trigger a Soviet effort to a similar base and escalate power military rivalry in the Indian Ocean.

Mr. Waldheim objected to the report showing a Chinese base on Tanzania territory, the island of Zanzibar, as "a false and without foundation."

Tanzania and China also tested sections that mention Peking's alleged supply of arms and military equipment and facilities said to have been constructed.

"Tanzania has made it clear that it is totally opposed to any military bases and will permit any part of its territory to be used for such purposes," wrote Salim Ahmed Salim, Zanzibar's chief delegate. He also said that the three authors of the report had based their report on "malicious conjectures, false assumptions" without citing with the member government concerned.

China's complaint was orally during a meeting Friday with Mr. Waldheim.

**FBI Seizes California
Freed in U.K. Gun**

LOS ANGELES, May 19 (UPI)—Agents arrested at Thompson yesterday at Los Angeles International Airport she stepped off flight London, where she was again last week on gun-smuggling charges.

The former Santa Barbara resident was charged with violations of the Neutrality Act, the Firearms Control Act, and the FBI said. She was arrested Nov. 27 in London. Authorities found weapons in a false bottom in one of her suitcases. Thomas Brown, of Goleta, Calif., who was charged in the alleged smuggling case, pleaded guilty to a gun-smuggling charge Friday in federal court here. He will be sentenced June 24.

**Dominican Opposition
Asks Voiding of Vote**

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, May 19 (UPI)—Three-party opposition coalition which boycotted the election which President Joaquin Balaguer won a third term, has announced that it will ask the National Election Board to void election for fraud.

Nearly complete results Thursday's voting gave Mr. Balaguer 924,776 votes, the most received by a Dominican presidential candidate to 105,530. Romero Leizaola, his closest rival, won 800,000 votes either stolen or cast blank ballots.

34 Get Death in Plot

ZANZIBAR, May 19 (UPI)—A Zanzibar court yesterday sentenced 34 persons to death for their part in a plot in 1972 to assassinate the island's leader, Sheikh Ali Karume.</

الصحف العالمية

Clamp Contradicts Senate Testimony

Nape Shows Mitchell Quit Over Watergate

By David E. Rosenbaum

WASHINGTON, May 19 (NYT).—A transcript of President Nixon's June 30, 1973, conversation with John Mitchell and H. R. Haldeman shows that the three men agreed that the three of them would resign as the President's "campaign director" to the Watergate

year, Mr. Mitchell said in his testimony to the Senate committee that his resignation was the subject of the 30-minute conversation, but he said he had resigned solely because of family responsibilities. His resignation was announced the day after the June 30 session.

Members of the House Judiciary Committee said today that Mr. Nixon could be considered responsible for not reporting Mr. Mitchell's alleged false statement to the authorities, but members agreed that it was unlikely that the matter would become the basis for an impeachment.

Portion of the tape of the 30-minute meeting was heard in session Wednesday during the House Judiciary Committee's

Expletives Not Deleted In Sweden

STOCKHOLM, May 19 (AP).—The Swedish national television today broadcast dramatic excerpts from the Watergate tape transcripts, including actors playing the roles of President Nixon and his legal counsel John

Swedish television spokesmen said that the only thing deleted from the transcripts were profane words used by Mr. Nixon.

San Freed; Ransom at \$1.2 Million

MIAMI, May 19 (AP).—A wealthy 43-year-old man, a wealthy businessman, was released today by kidnappers who seized him May 2 in front of his home.

It was reported that Mr. Botwin paid a ransom of \$1.2 million. Mr. Botwin was found wandering near Cincinatti, a few miles from Miami.

Nixon Cites Privilege to Bar Stans Papers to Prosecutor

By Ben A. Franklin

WASHINGTON, May 19 (NYT).—President Nixon asserted today the right of executive privilege to bar a subpoena for documents from the Stans Committee's office.

Mr. Stans, a former secretary of commerce, was first served with the subpoena Feb. 25. Testimony at Friday's hearing disclosed that Mr. Stans' lawyers, immediately on learning of the subpoena, had sent for the keys to filing cabinets in which the subpoenaed papers were kept.

Mr. Stans then asserted that the files were "personal" and, therefore, protected by the Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate himself.

In an attempt Friday to persuade Judge Hart that the Stans documents are, indeed, "official" papers subject to subpoena, Mr. McBride and Charles Ruff, Jaworski staff prosecutors, questioned several witnesses, including Herbert Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's former personal lawyer and a key fund raiser for him under Mr. Stans.

Kalmbach pleaded guilty in February to running an illegal congressional campaign fund in 1970 that secretly raised millions of dollars for the Republicans and of providing a European ambassadorship to another donor in return for a \$100,000 contribution.

Kalmbach said Friday that he had asked Mr. Stans for his assistance in seeing that the commitment (the ambassadorship) was met.

Stand by Testimony

Mr. Mitchell's lawyer said Friday that his client would stand by his testimony to the Senate committee.

In the testimony last July, Mr. Mitchell was asked by Sen. Herman Talmadge, D-Ga., why he had resigned as campaign director.

Mr. Mitchell replied, "I had some long-range telephone and publicized threats (from his wife, Martha) that if I didn't get out of politics, I was going to lose my marriage."

Sen. Talmadge then asked, "It had nothing whatever to do with the Watergate matter?"

Mr. Mitchell answered, "None whatsoever."

According to the Judiciary Committee's transcript, the portion of the tape that the committee heard begins with Mr. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff, saying, "Well, there may be another facet. The longer you wait, the more risk each hour you run the risk of more stuff, valid or invalid, surfacing on the Watergate cover type of thing."

Mr. Nixon agreed, saying, "Yes, that's the other thing, if something does come out, but we won't—we hope nothing will. It may not. But there is always the risk."

Story Outlined

Then Mr. Nixon made it apparent that the matter under discussion was Mr. Mitchell's resignation and the President told Mr. Mitchell the "story" that would be used to announce the resignation.

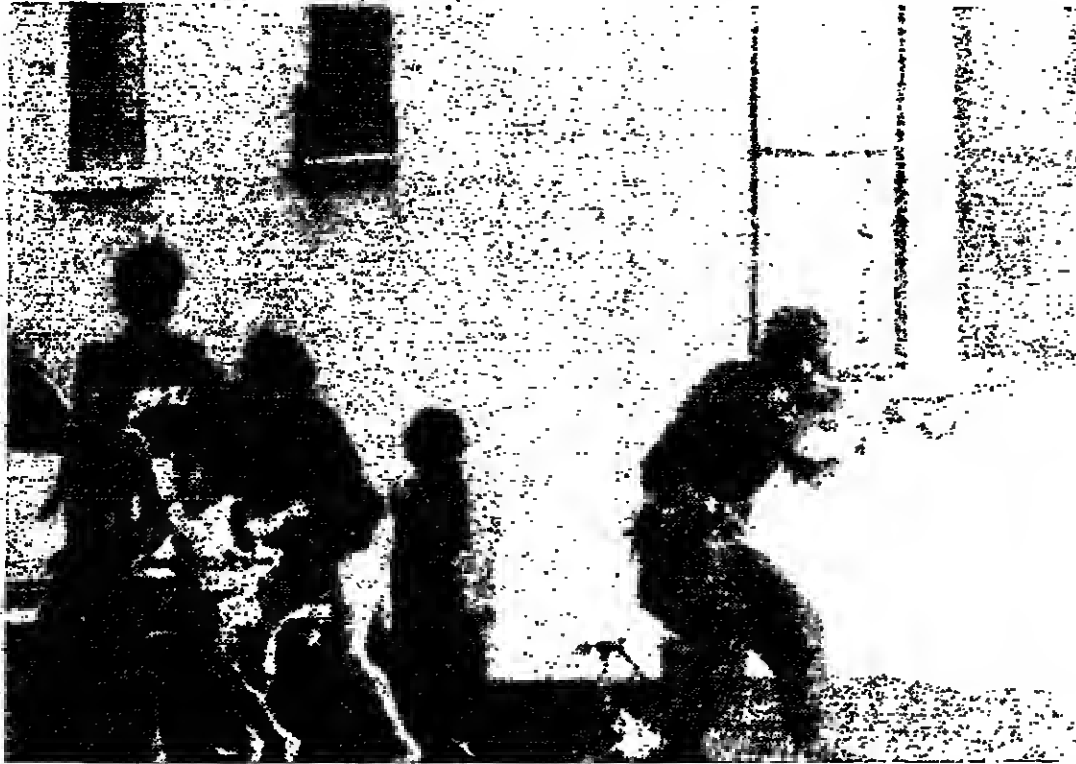
"Well, I'd cut the loss fast," the President said. "I'd cut it fast, if we're going to do it, I'd cut it fast." Mr. Nixon went on to say:

"I think the story is, you're positive rather than negative, because as I said I was preparing to answer for this press conference, I just wrote it out, as I usually do, one way—terribly sensitive (unintelligible). A hell of a lot of people will like that answer. They would. And it'd make anybody else who asked any question on it look like a selfish son of a bitch who's thoroughly intended to look like a son of a bitch."

Mr. Nixon told Mr. Mitchell that "otherwise" the resignation "will be tied right to Watergate," and he assured Mr. Mitchell that the matter would be handled "in a way that Martha's not hurt."

Mr. Mitchell replied, "Yeah, OK."

William Hundley, Mr. Mitchell's attorney, was asked Friday about the discrepancy between the transcript and Mr. Mitchell's testimony. The lawyer responded, "Well, just stand on our sworn testimony."



MOVING OUT—A mother herds her children to safety during the Los Angeles shootout

Six SLA Members Slain in Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 1)

lily as the self-styled "General Field Marshal Cinque" on the tape-recorded ransom messages relayed to the Hearst family after the Feb. 4 abduction of the Berkeley co-ed. His death, and that of Miss Perry and Miss Solysik, shattered the leadership of the SLA.

The three had accompanied their captive in San Francisco late last month during a daring bank holdup. It was the last time Miss Hearst was seen in public.

They were the principal figures and spokesmen for the terrorist group during the 104 days since the kidnapping, maintaining that, under their guidance, Miss Hearst had become a convert to their cause.

In their taped messages, they had asserted repeatedly a conviction that they were prepared to die in the struggle for revolution in this country.

Friday night, in the pitched gun battle that ravaged the house in which they were trapped by more than 150 armed raiders, they did just that.

They exchanged heavy fire with the police for nearly an hour in what has been described by authorities as the greatest concentration of gunfire in the city's history.

The bodies of Miss Perry and Miss Atwood were found in the charred ruins where the kitchen had been.

DeFreeze died of multiple gunshot wounds, Dr. Noguchi said, and added that there was a possibility that a head wound was self-inflicted.

Miss Perry and Miss Hill also died from bullet wounds, he said, but Miss Solysik and Wolfe died in the fire, of burns and smoke inhalation.

All of the defenders of the bungled raid were gas masks.

Still at large are the following members of the terrorist group who are believed to have been involved in the abduction of Miss Hearst: Emily and William Harris and Thero Wheeler.

An all-point police bulletin was issued for a 1972 Chevrolet suspected of carrying four armed SLA members.

The small, clandestine group claimed responsibility for the slaying last winter of Marcus Foster, the Oakland superintendent of schools, and the kidnapping of Miss Hearst on Feb. 4 from her Berkeley apartment.

On the first taped messages relayed to her father after the abduction, Miss Hearst pleaded that the demands of her captors be met so that she could be set free.

However, in a series of bizarre turns after her family distributed \$3 million worth of free food to the poor in the San Francisco area, Miss Hearst abruptly renounced her parents in a letter-taped message and said that she had joined the ranks of her SLA "comrades" and refused to return to her family, whom she called exponents of "the enemy fascist state."

Her family refused to accept her statements of conversion, and said they had been imposed on their daughter by her captors.

A revolver dropped by a man in a shopping incident on Thursday in Los Angeles—a homicide event until a woman companion raked the store with machine-gun fire—was traced to Miss Harris.

SLA Members Slain in Los Angeles

Authorities' Profiles of Five of the Six Dead

The profiles of the five SLA members who died in the Los Angeles shootout are as follows:

Donald DeFreeze, 34, white, a former member of the SLA, was a co-leader of the SLA. He died of burns and smoke inhalation. He had been trained in guerrilla warfare, authorities said. She was photographed during the bank robbery.

Patricia (Marianne) Solysik, 29, a white woman believed to be a co-leader of the SLA. She died of burns and smoke inhalation. She and Mrs. Perry had been trained in guerrilla warfare, authorities said. She was photographed during the bank robbery.

William Wolfe, 23, white, son of a Pennsylvania anesthetist who became a political activist while studying at the University of California at Berkeley. He died of burns and smoke inhalation.

Angela Atwood, 25, white, a former Indianapolis student-teacher believed to be the "Gemma" who spoke on a taped SLA communiqué to the Hearst family. She died of burns and smoke inhalation.

The body of a sixth person, a white woman, was found late today at the site of Friday's shootout.

Valium Is No. 1 Prescription Drug in U.S.

By Lawrence K. Minahan

NEW YORK, May 19 (NYT).—Valium, a non-addictive drug known 15 years ago, is becoming the No. 1 prescription drug in the United States and perhaps the world.

The drug, known as diazepam, is the most widely prescribed in the United States, according to a survey of medical prescriptions published in the New England Journal of Medicine last month, have put a new perspective on the use of anti-anxiety drugs.

The results of an international study on the use of anti-anxiety drugs, published in the New England Journal of Medicine last month, have put a new perspective on the use of anti-anxiety drugs.

Americans, Drug Seized in Bolivia

LA PAZ, Bolivia, May 19 (AP).—Police have seized four Americans and 18 pounds of pure cocaine worth an estimated \$3 million and said that the men were couriers for a big ring that operated in Mexico, the United States and Canada.

They said that the men were arrested Thursday night as they were about to board a flight north. Police said that the cocaine, discovered in false-bottom suitcases, was destined for Mexico and the United States.

The Americans were identified as Albert Elshorn, Charles Sogness, Ronald Lacroix and Kenneth McDonald.

The chief of Bolivia's narcotics police, Maj. Guido Lopez, who has resigned, because of "reasons of health," said, speaking of the four: "I just hope they are tried in the United States, because in three years of work the narcotics brigade in Bolivia managed to carry out more than 200 arrests and every single one of these individuals is now free."



MEDICAL REPORT—Dr. Thomas Noguchi, the Los Angeles coroner, shows where a bullet killed the self-proclaimed Field Marshal Cinque in the California shootout with police.

Maheu Says Hughes Eyed Gift To Johnson for A-Test Halt

LOS ANGELES, May 19 (NYT).—Robert Maheu testified here Friday that in 1968 Howard Hughes assigned him to offer \$1 million to President Lyndon B. Johnson on the condition that nuclear-weapons testing be brought to an end.

Mr. Maheu, a witness in his own \$17.3-million defamation suit against the Hughes interests, for which he once worked, testified in U.S. District Court that the offer was to have the money delivered after Mr. Johnson, who has since died, left the White House.

But Mr. Maheu said that, although he went to the LBJ Ranch, where the President was resting, he never presented the offer.

Soon after President Johnson announced in March, 1968, that he would not run for re-election, Mr. Maheu testified, Mr. Hughes asked him to arrange a meeting at which he could give the President some messages that Mr. Hughes said he would give to Mr. Maheu for delivery.

Just before he was to fly in a private plane from Dallas to the Texas ranch, Mr. Hughes told him what the messages were, Mr. Maheu testified.

The first point, he said, was that he was to "feel out" Mr. Johnson about his attitude toward ending the war in Vietnam.



Chinese Quake Relief

HONG KONG, May 19 (Reuters).—Chinese troops and medical teams are carrying out a relief operation for victims of the earthquake that rocked part of southwestern China a week ago, according to the radio in Peking.

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For: Polconière & Gare de l'Est.

Portentous Irrelevancy

In the context of India's accumulating socio-economic problems, the explosion of a nuclear device in Rajasthan has all the irrelevancy of a firecracker let off in a panel discussion on food and poverty. But, considering the still urgent need in the world to limit the threat of nuclear war, the blast under the Indian desert is a portent, and an unhappy one.

These conclusions will stand up against the Indian claim that its interest in atomic power is confined to peaceful uses. India does need energy, and the atom is an obvious source. But is it necessary for India to go back to the raw beginnings, the dangerous beginnings of the effort to unleash the atom at White Sands to find economically useful techniques? Explosions can shift the earth, and there is some talk in New Delhi that they can be used for mining—but they can also level cities and disrupt ecologies. The experiment in Rajasthan serves no obvious Indian need, but it does set up shock waves that are being felt both close to and far from the subcontinent.

India never signed the 1968 treaty whereby the chief nuclear states promised not to supply non-nuclear states with nuclear weapons, and the latter agreed not to develop their own. The Indian objection was quite logical—the treaty would have imposed obligations on those countries without nuclear weapons that did not apply to those who had them. The concentration of nuclear military power in a few hands did not, in fact, mean global

hegemony by the big nuclear powers, since they constituted a standoff.

The limitations which the nature of nuclear weapons imposes on their principal possessors can be seen in the efforts, however tardy, the United States and the Soviet Union are making to limit their stockpiles. Even more dramatically, those limitations are evident in Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's patient efforts to talk Israel and Syria into a cease-fire. If nuclear blackmail by a superpower were practicable, surely it would have been applied here—or in Indochina, or in any of the tangled diplomatic and military situations in which the United States has been involved since Nagasaki.

There certainly is danger for the world in the possession of vast nuclear power by any state, or any number of states. But that threat is compounded by proliferation. The possibility of the seizure of the atomic hutton by some irresponsible person or group in Washington or Moscow has been explored and exploited in fiction and in sober treatises. The wider the spread of nuclear military technology, the greater the peril; Soviet and American leaders have repeatedly affirmed their recognition of responsibility—but states exist now whose interests are much less worldwide and whose political stability is far more precarious.

This is not to say that India itself will abuse the power it has just acquired. But the example is a bad one, the tensions it sets up and the possibilities it contains can bring no apparent good to India's millions, while creating new risks around the world.

Authority in Bonn

West Germany's new Socialist chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, is the right man, in the right place, at the right time. The government he has formed in close negotiations with the Free Democrats augurs well for his prospects. No second step was possible until this essential first move had been made to reshape and preserve the political alliance that provides his Bundestag majority.

This first successful operation brings into view a lesser-known facet of the Schmidt personality, that of political negotiator. He shows a tough, prickly, energetic, even arrogant and somewhat nationalist exterior that can worry less confident Europeans. But beneath the surface, there are intellect, knowledge, a pragmatic ability to analyze partners and possibilities.

All this was needed in working out the necessary compromises that held the Brandt coalition together, moving the ambitious new Free Democratic leader, Hans-Dietrich Genscher—who speaks no foreign languages and knows little of foreign affairs—into the post of foreign minister to replace Walter Scheel, who is West Germany's new president. The departure of Egon Bahr, the architect of Bonn's Ostpolitik, is more related to the resignation of his mentor for two decades, Mr. Brandt, than to the partial shift of inter-

est to Westpolitik from Brandt's eastern construction, which is largely completed.

The major surprise is the promotion of youthful Hans Apel as finance minister. As state secretary for Common Market affairs in the Foreign Ministry and a Schmidt confidant, Mr. Apel in the past has talked tough in European community negotiations. But, despite the new chancellor's Atlanticist views, he knows that his chief challenge abroad is to make the European community move forward again. Mr. Apel's knowledge of the ways of the Eurocracy will be invaluable in this task.

Mr. Schmidt faces two dangers: His party's popularity has dropped sharply as a result of weak leadership, inflation, energy-related economic strains, a psychological malaise and radicalism among young Socialists. The dynamism that is his greatest appeal could trip him up.

But as the kind of authority figure to whom Germans traditionally rally, he was unchallenged in picking up the reins of party leadership Willy Brandt dropped. The question now is whether he can bring the country as a whole to respond in the same way.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Car Bomb Cowardice

After Maalot the world needs no reminders of the mad horrors political terrorism can produce. But few atrocities compare to the cowardly practice of planting time bombs in public places for indiscriminate killing of innocent passers-by.

The four car bombs that exploded during the commuter rush hour in downtown Dublin and the town of Monaghan Friday took more than twice as many lives as all previous acts of violence in the Irish Republic since the beginning of the Ulster troubles five years ago. And the human tragedy is compounded by the political circumstances.

The perpetrators are as yet unknown but, whether they were IRA or Protestant extremists, the objective was the same. Both extremes in this internecine struggle are opposed to the compromise solution accepted late last year by Catholic and Protestant

moderates in Belfast in an attempt to share power in Northern Ireland and end killing. Their coalition government put Catholics into the Ulster Executive for the first time in history, a settlement brought about with the mediation of the Irish as well as the British governments.

It is that act which has made Dublin the enemy of both extremes, though the IRA protests police suppression in the Irish Republic while the Protestants in the province berate Dublin for failing to close the border effectively to IRA infiltrators. Killings in Northern Ireland passed the 1,000-mark last month. Their continuation and their extension on a large scale to the republic, despite a political solution that deserves a serious trial, carries fanaticism to a despicable low.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Opinion

Maalot and Reprisal

Attempts by Palestinian and other Arab leaders to shift the guilt for the sordid crime against Israeli children at Maalot onto the Israelis themselves is not only shameful but mischievous. The only hope of averting an endless repetition of these inhuman acts is for all responsible leaders—and especially for those whose cause is injured by such acts—to combine in denouncing them and not to offer lame justifications.

Whatever might be said in criticism of the Israeli reprisal raids, especially when they involve the loss of even more innocent young lives, it is time for the Security Council to take notice of the failure of the Lebanese government to act firmly against the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This irresponsible and most extreme splinter group has boasted of its responsibility for the bloodbath at Maalot as well as for the recent brutal killings at Qatari Shmona.

—From the Observer (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 20, 1899

PARIS—The perfection which the United States signal service has attained in the Philippine campaign will certainly have great significance on the future of military operations in general. The commanding officer, General Chas. D. Smith, in perfect touch with all of his officers at the front by an involved and efficient system of telegraph wires, flags and sometimes even pigeons. The transmission of improved communications will certainly be felt to civil life as well.

Fifty Years Ago

May 20, 1924

PARIS—ANNOUNCEMENT—The New York Herald Tribune today as the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune. Though a change in ownership has taken place, the general policy of the newspaper will continue under the leadership of Mr. Laurence H. Meyer, American now in Europe will have the opportunity of seeing a paper in Paris the same day as that appearing in New York and he hopes to improve our service to our readers.—Ogden Reid, President.



Détente and the UN Charter

By Eugene V. Rostow

NEW HAVEN.—The administration has contended, as Prof. Marshall D. Shulman, director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, sums up its position, that Sen. Henry M. Jackson's amendment to the Trade Reform Act requires the United States to choose "between morality with continued high tension and détente with trade." The United States faces no such choice.

Everyone who writes about Soviet-American relations seems to use a different definition of the talismanic word "détente." For Professor Shulman, "détente" is the beginning of a process through which the terms of Soviet competition with the United States are codified, particularly by reducing the danger of nuclear war, damping down the military elements in the continuing competition between the two countries, and encouraging restraints in other aspects of their competition.

If this is détente we have had it since 1945. But until now we have called it "containment" and "cold war." The push and pull of Soviet-American military confrontations since the early postwar crises in Iran, Greece, Turkey and Berlin have indeed "codified" the limits of Soviet expansion beyond which the Russians came to understand that they faced unacceptable risks. And every American president has earnestly sought to translate these conditioned cold war reflexes into a more positive and explicit political understanding, which could be the basis for secure and peaceful relations.

Carrots and Sticks

In that effort, the United States has maintained a continuous dialogue with the Soviet Union, never interrupted even at moments of confrontation.

We have used both carrots and sticks: the offers of the Marshall Plan, and the wheat deal and other economic projects in 1972, on the one hand, and the delicate and not-so-delicate signals of crisis management on the other.

The long cycle of nuclear conversations and negotiations is one theme in the symphony, linked to summit meetings at Geneva, Camp David, Glassboro and Moscow. So is the pattern of crunch through which the Russians have periodically tested our willingness to defend our interests.

It is an abuse of language to define détente as anything less than a clear agreement for peaceful co-existence in the American, not the Soviet sense—an agreement, that is, committing the Soviet Union to obey the rules of the United Nations Charter with respect to the use or the threat of force in international relations, and to carry out its other international obligations. The charter is not a suicide pact. There can be no détente until there is reciprocal respect for its basic rules of public order.

Clearly, President Nixon thought he had achieved an agreement of this character in his ill-fated Declaration of Basic Principles on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, signed in Moscow on May 22, 1972.

That document makes melancholy reading today. In it, the two nations say they "will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence." Therefore, they agree that they will cooperate to prevent the development of situations that could strain their relations.

Each country says it will refrain from seeking to obtain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other, respect each other's security interests and renounce the use or the threat of force.

In the communiqué issued at the same time, the two governments undertook generally to concert their diplomacy in the interests of peace, and specifically promised full support for diplomatic efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict in accordance with a Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1957.

Action, Promises

There is no way in which the recent pattern of Soviet armament and action can be reconciled with these promises. In the Far East, the Soviet Union does not even pretend that it is carrying out its obligations under the Indochinese accords of 1962 and 1973. Instead, its diplomats say that the accords will be carried out "as soon as possible."

Those agreements require the Soviet Union to get the North Vietnamese out of Laos and Cambodia, and to have them refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. Instead of fulfilling these agreements with us, the Soviet Union is giving full support to North Vietnam in its active campaign against all three countries. And in the Middle East, far from cooperating with us, before or after May 23, 1972, to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in accordance with the Security Council resolution, the Russians helped decisively to prepare, equip and organize the Arabs and encourage the 1973 war, against the mandate of that resolution.

They exploited Arab hostility to the existence of Israel as the detonator of a war that was intended to achieve irreversible change in the area and in the relations of the United States to Western Europe. Despite the setback their plan suffered in October, the Russians persevere. As recently as March 12, they were urging the Arabs to continue their oil embargo against the United States and the Netherlands.

President Nixon, suffocating in the coils of Watergate, keeps telling us that he has replaced the cold war with détente, substituted negotiation for confrontation, and achieved "a generation of peace." This is a grievous breach of political ethics.

We confront two implacable facts: the Soviet military buildup is continuing at an ominous rate, and Soviet political policy is more and more obviously fixed in a mood of muscular imperialism.

It is possible to claim, as Professor Shulman does, that American trade concessions and credits could help persuade the Russians to accept the rules of "détente." We experimented with that thesis through our recent investment credits to the Soviet Union and our generous sales of wheat. We were repaid by the October war in the Middle East and by Soviet

policy in Indochina. The contention recalls Lenin's comment that "when the time comes to hang the capitalist regimes, they will compete with each other to sell us the rope."

Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State from 1966-69, is Sterling Professor of Law at Yale. He wrote this article for The New York Times.

Impeachment Abounding

By William F. Buckley Jr.

NEW YORK.—Herewith some questions, assumptions, and suppositions concerning the events of the past few days.

1. Mr. Nixon was in very bad shape during the weekend before this one. For a while it appeared as though what one might call the Eagleton effect was about to overtake him. One does not, as a Republican President, easily withstand, in a single week, calls for resignation from citadels of journalistic Republicanism in the Midwest, in the Far West and in Florida; and suffer the rebuke of the leader of the Republican forces in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. The intense speculation on Friday a week ago that Mr. Nixon was about to resign prompted him to take measures very nearly desperate in character: he dispatched his own daughter to look the press in the face and say to them that they could take it from her, that her father did not intend to resign.

It is left to speculate what Mr. Nixon did privately. It is plausible to assume that he passed along the word to his remaining supporters in the conservative ranks of the House of Representatives that inasmuch as he would not resign, call upon him to do so would be unavailing; and that he was prepared, now, to fight his battle not so much against im-

peachment by the House, but against conviction by the Senate. What he said in effect, one surmises, is that he would not hold up to scorn and obloquy those Republican representatives in the House (how many? 50% 60%?) who will vote for impeachment. This is a very important political development, permitting Republicans under pressure to go home during the election season and say to their constituents: I voted for impeachment, now let's see what the Senate says. If they voted for impeachment and were then persecuted by Nixonian rhetoric as traitors, they would probably lose their seats. If they failed to vote impeachment, they would probably also lose. Now, one supposes, they have a fighting chance.

2. The prediction now is that impeachment will be voted, so that attention fastens on the next stage in the dramatic development. Here there are problems. On the assumption that several articles of impeachment will be voted, and that the rules that governed the disposition of the case against Andrew Johnson obtained, the Senate would be up against it. Because there isn't enough time, between the vote for impeachment and the lapse of the Senate's legal life on January 20, 1975, to

follow the old procedure, called for the House "manus (the prosecutors) to state case on all issues, then for President's defenders to take their case, after which a vote taken by issue.

This is not chronology feasible. There isn't the time. Senate will have to change rules to permit the transaction of an entire article of impeachment one at a time.

3. What does this say? There is less and less talk of bringing up against Nixon some of the grand constitutional issues that were the lites of the American Civil War Union as recently as a few months ago. Questions like: do we have the right to bomb Cambodia? to impose congress voted funds.

At the other end of the spectrum are those charges by Mr. Nixon which one might scribble as the chicken charges: that he knew Watergate, that he covered it, that he cheated on taxes, that he lied for the NYT, that he took a from the milk people. Article impeachment based on this of activity, inasmuch as the not place grave constitutional issues into contention, could have been transacted more quickly.

4. In between the issue of the authority to deploy military and to impose the issue of formal criminal behavior of a criminal in the vexed issue of executive privilege. The guessing is that Nixon's lawyers will all but the House to list this one of their points. Mr. Nixon usual to come up with the best of the tapes is in direct defiance of the Judiciary Committee, hint of the Justice Department.

But the important development surely is this, that for the time the White House appears to be granted that Mr. Nixon will be the second president in American history to be impeached.

Letters

Peoria: Too Much

Concerning Art Buchwald's scenario for the "White House Fire" (CET, May 2), those of us from "thinly deleted Peoria" have had about enough of the (expensive deleted) being taken out on our fair city.

Granted, Peoria has traditionally been the butt of jokes and subtle humor, but poking fun at Peoria and Richard Nixon in the same breath is even too much for the most liberal-minded Peorian to take sitting down.

Maybe it would be better (laughter) to see how it plays in (inaudible) Congress?

JOHN L. DEFFENBAUGH, Glasgow.

'Jail to the Chief'

William Safire's convoluted argument, "Jail to the Chief," against impeachment (CET, May 14) has a weak moral basis that one hopes is not related to his former White House service. No matter how you read it, he is saying that Richard Nixon should not be impeached because the subsequent steps may finally lead to a fall term and this—according to Safire—the American people could not abide.

His position only emphasizes the unpleasant truth that there is precious little equality before the law in the United States. If

is already impossible to explain to the young or to poor people why a teen-ager committing a minor theft gets a jail sentence while a former Vice-President Agnew is free to pursue his literary career.

If Richard Nixon, the onetime strongest advocate of law-and-order, is convicted of a crime but given no jail sentence, it would be further proof to many less-privileged Americans that "the big guys get off easy and the little guys go to jail."

JAMES R. MILLER, Paris.

Nixon Interview

'After Me the Deluge'

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—In his self-revealing interview with James J. Kilpatrick of the Washington Star-News, President Nixon gave three main reasons against his resignation or impeachment: First, it would be "wrong." For, he added, "I am not guilty of any offense under the Constitution that is called an impeachable offense."

Second, it would weaken future presidents by making it more difficult for them to take the tough decisions. "Every president in the future would be constantly poring over the polls and looking over his shoulder toward Capitol Hill."

Third—the key point he added—the United States holds the key to whether peace survives and whether freedom survives... I have to be here, and I intend to be here."

This is not an overly modest appraisal. For, on Point One, he presumes to pass judgment on his own case before the jury has heard all the evidence. On Point Two, he presents himself as the protector of the presidency, which his administration has gravely weakened. And on Point Three, he seems to think he is personally the main hope of peace and freedom in the world. "This was the theme of Louis XV: 'After me the deluge.'"

Apocalyptic Terms

There is obviously something topsy-turvy in all this, considering the deluge Nixon has already created. For he is not the judge in these impeachment proceedings but the accused. He is not in trouble because he has held up the presidency but because he has let it down. And the hope of peace and freedom in the world lies with a united America, and not with a divided nation under a President who has lost the trust of a majority of the people.

Yet the President speaks in apocalyptic terms. "We have one of those times," he told Kilpatrick, "when certain forces are coming together that may never come together again. We must seize this moment. If we do not seize it, the world will inevitably move to a conflagration that will destroy everything that we have made—everything that the civilization has produced."

Presumably, he means by this that there is now a chance to

make some progress toward more stable world order. (1) Mao Tse-tung and Chou are still in power in China while Khrushchev is showing interest in nuclear arms in the Soviet Union; (2) Sadat and Faisal are made influences in the Middle East; and (3) while Europe is staying toward some kind of purpose.

There is something to be said for this argument. This is a time of tumultuous change and there are opportunities for practical compromise, but it not follow from this that it will overwhelm the human if Nixon personally doesn't the moment."

Foreign policy, the President told Kilpatrick, is no longer by foreign ministers, it is by heads of state. This is news to Henry, the Politburo queen of England.

Overpersonalized

Still Nixon has always a weakness for overpersonalizing overpersonalizing politics, as it is still at it. He will not do it will not do that. He will not—meaning his political mimes. He will decide what peachment means and what dence will be released to the press. His pride will be saying nothing else.

And the remarkable thing: all this is that Nixon really believes it—believes he has not committed a crime—his definite an impeachable offense. He is saving the presidency, and freedom, and believes he still do all this and hand impeachment trial too.

Of course it was precisely assumptions like these that led into such deep trouble in first place who has lost the trust of a majority of the people. Of course it was precisely assumptions like these that led into such deep trouble in first place who has lost the trust of a majority of the people.

And there is very little else that he has changed his life even now. He is still full with the tapes and still making public reaction. Still to endlessly, even after the scripts blew his cover, and thinking he can regain the fidence of the country, which is inconceivable, even if he is impeached and convicted.

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Obituaries

Yankee Topping, 61, a Co-Owner of N.Y. Yankees for 20 Years

MIAMI BEACH, May 19 (AP)—Yankee Topping, 61, longtime co-owner of the New York Yankees, died today of a heart attack at his home in Miami Beach.

Mr. Topping controlled the Yankees from 1945 until 1964, when he sold 80 percent of his interest to the Columbia Broadcasting System. During Mr. Topping's time as the club's co-owner, the Yankees won 15 American League pennants and 10 World Series.

Mr. Topping, Mr. Webb and Larry MacPhail purchased the Yankees from the estate of Col. Jacob Ruppert, the club's long-time owner. The price was \$2.8 million with Mr. MacPhail installed as president and general manager.

After the 1947 season, Mr. Webb and Mr. Topping bought out Mr. MacPhail with Mr. Topping being made president and George Weiss general manager. In 1949, Casey Stengel was brought in to manage the team, signaling the start of one of baseball's most successful dynasties.

The partners sold all but 20 percent of their interest to CBS, in 1964 receiving \$12 million for the team. Mr. Webb sold his 10 percent interest in 1965, and Mr. Topping sold his 10 percent in 1968. Each got \$1 million.

Mr. Topping had extensive land and stock holdings and lived on a yacht off Miami Beach. He was married five times with four of those marriages ending in divorce. His wives included ice-skating champion Sonja Henie and actress Arlene Judge.

Mr. Topping suffered from emphysema during his later years.

Lu Han

HONG KONG, May 19 (Reuters).—Lu Han, 79, a former Nationalist Chinese general who went over with his troops to the Chinese Communists, died in Peking last Monday, the Chinese news agency reported today.

It said that a memorial service for Gen. Lu, who defected from Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's forces in December, 1949, was held at Peking's T'angshan Cemetery for Revolutionaries yesterday.

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Durga Das

NEW DELHI, May 19 (Reuters).—Durga Das, 73, former chief editor of the Hindustan Times, died here Friday of a heart attack.

In recent years, Mr. Das wrote a column for the Indian News and Feature Alliance, which he founded in 1960, and was editor-in-chief of a biweekly magazine, the States.

Martin Etchegoyen

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, May 19 (Reuters).—Uruguay's Vice-President Martin Etchegoyen, 63, died here yesterday, informed sources said.

A Crowd Detains Paris Diplomats In China Incident

PEKING, May 19 (Reuters).—Seven French diplomats were surrounded by a hostile crowd and held for four hours today after one went straggling "out of bounds" near the Ming Dynasty tombs northeast of Peking.

The incident occurred during a picnic in the mountain-encircled valley—one of the few places outside the capital open to foreign residents.

One of the diplomats, a woman newly arrived in Peking, left the picnic site for a stroll in the countryside. She was surrounded by a crowd consisting mainly of young children, who refused to let her go.

Six fellow-diplomats who came to help were also held by the crowd, which they later described as "hostile." All seven were detained for two hours until public security personnel arrived.

When asked why they had left the tomb area and walked into open countryside, the diplomats said there were no signs forbidding it. They also explained that the woman had only been in Peking three days and did not know it was prohibited.

A security official answered, "You should have known," a diplomat said later.

Skyscraper Radio Mast

WARSAW, May 19 (AP).—Poland yesterday completed the construction of a radio and television mast 646 meters (2,120 feet) high, and claimed it was the tallest structure in the world. The mast, in the village of Konstanczyn, 40 miles west of Warsaw, is supported by a net of steel wire stays.



United Press International

FAMILY REUNION—Freed in Turkish general amnesty on Saturday, Britain Timothy Davey, 16, is welcomed by brothers and sisters following release in Izmir. He was sentenced to six years for selling marijuana in 1971.

Turkish Coalition Splits on Terms Of Amnesty on Political Prisoners

ANKARA, Turkey, May 19 (Reuters).—The Republican People's party, the dominant partner in Turkey's four-month-old ruling coalition, tonight decided to withdraw from the government, plunging the nation into a new political crisis.

The decision to withdraw followed four hours of debate within the party executive and the parliamentary group, the second such meeting in two days.

The uneasy alliance between Premier Bulent Ecevit's party and the pro-Islamic National Salvation party founded Wednesday when a score of NSP members voted against the government over an article in a amnesty bill providing for the release of political prisoners.

Mr. Ecevit had made freedom of political expression a matter of principle over which he was determined to have his way or resign.

The U.S. Bureau of the Mint is planning a nationwide campaign in an effort to ease the penny shortage.

Pennies are in such short supply that some supermarket chains have asked for permission to use paper scrip in place of pennies in their stores.

The Mint has not yet responded to these requests, although it promises an opinion soon on whether such a use of scrip would be legal.

The Mint is preparing plans for a nationwide drive to induce Americans to return their pennies to circulation, sources said. Details may be announced this week.

Enough pennies exist, a Mint spokesman said, noting that the Firestone Bank in Akron, Ohio, recently offered \$1.10 for every 100 pennies and got 1.2 million pennies.

Mary Brooks, the director of the Bureau of the Mint, said that pennies are just not being circulated.

"We estimate there are 30 billion pennies just languishing away in people's dressers, pickle jars, coffee cans, unloved and unwanted and unused, and they should be back in circulation," she said.

The Mint has doubled penny production this year, to 35 million coins a day. It could produce more, but only at a strain on its minting equipment, Miss Brooks said.

The Mint has turned out 62 billion pennies in the last 15 years, about 300 for each person in the United States.

Earlier this year, the Mint proposed making pennies out of aluminum because of rising copper prices. The idea has been dropped, but Miss Brooks said many persons apparently are hoarding pennies, thinking they can sell them at a profit when the price of the copper content exceeds the value of the penny.

U.S. Military Presence in Laos Declines but Aid Continues

VIENTIANE, Laos, May 19 (AP).—The United States has declined to reduce its military presence in Laos, but aid continues.

Fifteen months after the last U.S. military presence in Laos, the U.S. has declined to reduce its military presence in Laos, but aid continues.

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Today, we have a road into the main refugee area.

Mr. Ramsey said the continuing outback in Laos is reflected in the aid personnel charts.

Last July, we had 280 Americans on the aid chart in Laos," he said. "By July, 1975, the figure will be half that—only 140."

U.S. Ready to Begin Removing Phantoms Based on Taiwan

By Leslie H. Gelb

WASHINGTON, May 19 (AP).—The United States is ready to begin removing Phantoms based on Taiwan, according to a senior State Department official.

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Along with the manpower cutback is a dollar cutback.

Two years ago, Congress authorized a maximum annual expenditure in Laos of \$375 million, with \$50 million going for economic and humanitarian work, but most being fed into the war effort.

This year, the United States is still expected to contribute \$50 million for things like schools, roads and hospitals. Pathet Lao "pro-Communist" ministers in the new government have privately admitted that they will be happy to get the money. President Nixon is seeking only \$85 million for military spending in Laos, U.S. sources said, and most of that amount will go for salaries and training.

One item that will be missing from the military budget this year will be U.S. support for "regular" troops from Thailand in Laos. For the last 10 years, the United States has organized, trained, equipped, controlled and paid as many as 20,000 Thai soldiers, who fought in Laos on behalf of the Royal Lao Army.

Thus cost went as high as \$100 million a year at the height of the war, but most of the Thai have already gone and the remainder are to be withdrawn. Thai sources said, by the end of May.

America's declining role in Laos is also reflected in the steady demise of charter operators like Air America and Continental Air Services. The two companies whose chief customers were the CIA, AID and the Pentagon.

Signal to Peking

But other officials expressed the view that Mr. Kissinger was eager for the early withdrawal of the Phantoms as a signal to Peking that Washington was interested in continued improvement in relations. Mr. Kissinger is said to be interested in doing what he can to strengthen the hands of those in Peking who feel the same way.

The removal of American Phantoms from Taiwan would give that group something tangible to point to when arguing with those who feel that Peking has gone too far and too fast with Washington.

The issue now between Taipei and Washington is over when, not whether, the Phantoms will be withdrawn. South Vietnam is ready, according to one official, to ship back 30 F-4s to Taiwan this fall. This would permit the deployment of one of the two Phantom squadrons by October at the latest.

Under a November 1972 agreement between Taipei and Washington, the Phantoms were to remain on Taiwan until Saigon and Washington replaced the 48 aircraft. An official said the planes were put on Taiwan because of the Vietnam War and they're coming out because the remnants of that war are being cleared up. Our pulling them out of Taiwan has nothing to do with Peking.

But this official and others also acknowledged that the withdrawal of the Phantoms is linked to the Shanghai communiqué of February, 1972, issued after President Nixon's visit to Peking. According to this communiqué, Mr. Nixon made a commitment to the "ultimate objective of withdrawing all United States forces and military installations from Taiwan."

The United States was to do this by progressively reducing its forces and military installations on Taiwan as tension in the area diminished.

Two officials pointed out that the Phantoms arrived in Taiwan after the Shanghai communiqué and said that their ultimate withdrawal would merely bring the situation back to what it had been.

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The Gaullist Legacy to France

By Don Cook

PARIS.—There has always been a kind of "son et lumiere" quality about Gaullism, even when the production was at its height and Charles de Gaulle himself was alive and directing. Sound and lights were carefully arranged to evoke the power and glory of France—resounding declarations, diplomatic shock tactics, splendid isolation, spectacular journeys, warm embraces, brutal snubs, high principles and low blows. But now it has finally faded. As the French elected a president yesterday, Gaullism was a spent force.

There are, of course, plenty of Gaullists still around, some of them quite important, and there are 153 members of the National Assembly who were elected under the Gaullist banner in 1973. But Gaullist domination of French politics is finished, and the French themselves are left wondering what the reality of Gaullism really was. Was it all slogans and noncommittal promises? What has France inherited from those heady years? What Gaullist principles and precepts will still prevail in French policy?

"All my life," Gen. de Gaulle wrote in the famous opening passage of his war memoirs, "I have thought of France in a certain way . . . as chosen for an exceptional and exceptional destiny . . . only vast enterprises are capable of counterbalancing the ferment of disintegration inherent in her people. In short, to my mind, France cannot be France without greatness."

And the general departed after having frequently commented that he would have no successor. He himself apparently preferred that Gaullism would stand out by itself as a brief period of greatness in French history with chaos preceding it and mediocrity following it.

Gaullism was, indeed, about 80 percent style and 20 percent content and reality. The general had plenty of style, and was a past master at elevating trivia into political principle.

There was the occasion in 1962 when he sent the Mona Lisa to New York for exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But



at the same time he was feuding with the United Nations over its decision to send a peacekeeping force to the Congo, and he instructed Ambassador Hervé Alphand in Washington to decline a dinner party invitation from Mayor John Lindsay in New York to mark the Mona Lisa showing because UN Secretary-General U Thant had also been invited. Mr. Thant gracefully withdrew with a diplomatic smile, and Mr. Alphand attended in triumph at this demonstration of France's "greatness" in humiliating the Secretary-General.

Nobody could succeed the gen-

eral in this kind of "Gaullism." The trouble which everybody immediately had when he departed from the scene was deciding what Gaullism really was.

Georges Pompidou, a pragmatic man, paid lip service constantly to the principles of Gen. de Gaulle, but he paved the way for Britain to enter the European Common Market, stopped interference in Quebec, called off doctrinaire attacks on the United States, eased up on relations with NATO, and stayed cool and cooperative. In the long and frustrating American search for a way out of Viet-

nam. Was this Gaullism in action or was it not?

The very fact that the Gaullist political party, the Union of Democrats for the Fifth Republic, turned into such a defeated and quibbling group so soon after Mr. Pompidou's death is ample demonstration that there is not and never had been any such thing as true Gaullism except in the person and presence of the general himself. Today, Gaullism is nothing but the reflexes, reactions and rhetoric of those who claim to be its inheritors and interpreters, and they are all different.

Nevertheless, the Gaullist Fifth Republic has already lasted four years longer than the Fourth Republic, which expired in 1959 after barely 12 years of constitutional existence. Certain realities must, therefore, stand out from all the rhetoric.

First of all, France is politically and economically stable and strong—and this is a true Gaullist inheritance. There are problems and there are troubles ahead, but there is a framework of stability and government which works.

Secondly, French politicians of all shades, from the left to the extreme right, all rally and salute that magic Gaullist word "independence."

It is a simple fact of life that Gen. de Gaulle succeeded in reactivating the force and idealism of the word "independence" in France to a point where the simplest act of common-sense cooperation can instantly be elevated into a matter of high principle. To cooperate with anybody is to sacrifice independence. Hence every invitation or overture to France is automatically examined in this light, and advantages for France gauged by this fundamental approach.

In short, it is perfectly possible and always has been for France to have an independent policy, a Gaullist policy, but still accommodate itself and play an effective and influential role. As a nation, it is far stronger in real economic terms today than it was in De Gaulle's time. And, hopefully, it will be a little bit more serene in the future as well.

Los Angeles Times

Atlantic Alliance Views

What Two Triangles Mean to Today's World

By Robert A. Scalapino

BERKELEY, Calif.—Two triangular relations are of special importance to the world today. One is the United States-Soviet Union-China relation, vital with respect to war and peace issues of nuclear weapon control, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence. The other is the United States-West Europe-Japan relation, critical to prosperity and development issues, monetary, trade and investment policies, as well as to the theory problem of relations between the "advanced" and "emerging" societies.

But both of these three-way relationships pose the most complex difficulties. Communications among the major actors remain limited and strained. Basic policy agreement is exceedingly elusive. Why?

In the U.S.-West European-Japanese triangle, recent history and contemporary trends have interacted to produce several major contradictions. On the one hand, in the aftermath of World War II, remarkable political unity and economic development were achieved in the West and Japan as a result of three factors: desperate needs, a discerned threat and American largesse. Organic unity, to be sure, was not achieved, nor sought. Relations between West Europe and Japan, indeed, remained quite minimal with the United States the key link in the overlapping alliance. Nonetheless, basic political and economic trends within the "advanced world" appeared to be relatively uniform.

Today, diversity competes with unity. Nationalism has re-emerged as a vital, possibly dominant force within the so-called advanced world, both in the economic and in the political arena. Contrary to common assumption, moreover, important differences exist in the economic structures of the major industrial societies. Thus, the trends may be running as strongly toward economic, as toward political, multipolarism.

Few would deny that parliamentary democracy faces its most serious crisis since World War II. A combination of economic and social problems threatens to overwhelm a system that has always been recognized as fragile by careful observers.

Challenges to Authority

Contrary to the Marxist opinion, most of these problems are not the product of economic stagnation or political repression. On the contrary, they are the result of unprecedented economic growth and new levels of political freedom. It remains true, however, that the current trend is running strongly in the direction of political instability throughout the democratic world. A few months ago, public opinion polls revealed that scarcely a single political leader of the major democratic societies, including

This is another article of a series published in the International Herald Tribune on the problems and differences of Europe-U.S. relations. The series is being coordinated by Joseph Godson, who organized the Europe-American Conference in Amsterdam last year.

Japan, had the support of more than a third of his electorate.

In Western Europe, every government rests upon the narrowest margin of support and challenges to authority and legitimacy loom large. In Japan, the long-time control of the conservative Liberal Democratic party appears threatened, not merely by the growing strength of opposition, but also by the increasingly deep cleavages within conservative circles.

It is possible that the continuing weaknesses of the opposition, and divisiveness in their ranks, will prolong the status quo. At no time in the post-1945 period, however, have Japanese politics seemed less predictable.

Meanwhile, as is now commonly recognized, the United States faces the gravest problems of internal unity in decades, problems fed by the most bitter administration-media battle in the memory of American citizens.

Under these circumstances, a drift away from international concerns by the population is natural. The vital issues lie close to home—connected with the great changes in life-style which the industrial revolution in its climactic stages is producing. Uncertainty and disillusionment with politics have also led to widespread apathy. Hence, the mood at the grass-roots is toward narrowness, not breadth.

At present, popular sentiment in the major democratic states does not support international cooperation, let alone innovation. Rather, the current mood is one of neo-isolationism in the United States, neo-nationalism in Europe and Japan, and protectionism everywhere.

And, in the absence of dynamic, popular leadership, there is no new vision or symbolism to counteract these trends. There is, thus, the danger that even if our political leaders achieve certain technical solutions to current international problems, these solutions will be forced to struggle for survival in a hostile political atmosphere.

Special cultural and political circumstances also pose obstacles. Japan, like Britain, is an island nation lying off a vast continent, and the great historic issue for the two nations has been similar: close cooperation with, or separation from, that continent? The answer to this question can never be absolute—nor permanent. Thus, the effort of some Western statesmen to move Japan solidly into "the Atlantic community" can never succeed. Japan will always remain partially an Asian society despite its

deep involvement with the "advanced" industrial world. And its economic-political interests in Asia will probably grow rather than decline in the years immediately ahead.

Meanwhile, the belated European discovery of Japan has been accompanied by strong apprehensions. The specter of a yeddy industrial giant, justified or not, supports protectionist instincts and restrained contacts. For its part, Japan feels a certain discomfort in strimming alone in a foreign, white sea—the only non-Western member of an advanced industrial club whose mores and rules remain questionable.

For these reasons among others, bilateral relations between the United States and Japan as well as between the United States and West Europe will continue to be highly important.

In the economic sphere, in the political sphere, conflicting tendencies are at work. Contrary to this common impression, the advanced industrial societies are not at the same stage of development at this point. The United States is moving into a phase in which service industries are rapidly increasing in importance at the expense of manufacturing industries. Japan, on the other hand, has the problem of erasing its national and cultural dependency at a time when hopes continue to rest upon heavy industrial and chemical efforts.

Western Europe is closer in the respects to Japan, with the additional complex problem of seeking to advance economic integration in the Common Market in such a manner as to cope with a persistent political relationship on the one hand, and to take account of American and Japanese needs on the other.

Anarchy Pressures

Given the political and economic trends outlined above, the pressure on behalf of entirely new approaches to international relations is becoming more and more certain. Experts believe that the most realistic prospect for the immediate future is a new approach toward economic integration, with the United States, West Europe and Japan each benefiting potential corners of economic interaction in its own right.

In considerable degree, the trend has been toward a new kind of multipolarism, how to achieve their aims—both as a group and as individuals. In the political realm, the dominant international body now remains the United Nations, but the United States, Europe and China each have a powerful voice. In the economic realm, they are all only two superpowers, each with the potential of their own, and a viable power. Thus, the West Europeans, the political integration seems present there, should the two superpowers and the Soviet Union be confronted by

separate and much weaker states, or should a greater degree of political-military integration within Europe be sought? And should West Europe continue to lean to one side, preserving its alliance with the United States, or should it move toward "neutrality" on the assumption that ideological-differences and the factor of proximity are more important than the United States have lost their significance for Europe?

Japan has somewhat different, yet similar alternatives: whether to practice self-sufficiency in political and military matters or even to re-emerge as a political-military power in Asia; continue to rely upon the United States in defense matters; or seek a neutralist stance.

Neutralist Quotient

Since all alliances, in this era, are less tightly knit, more porous, a certain tendency toward seeking to advance economic integration, with the United States, West Europe and Japan each benefiting potential corners of economic interaction in its own right.

Similarly, in the economic realm, autarky—single-nation or regional—will be a significant factor in this period of rapidly moving, diversified trends, but it cannot be the all-controlling force. A viable international monetary system, suitable trade and investment policies, and a host of other issues in the economic sphere demand joint efforts on the part of the United States, West Europe and Japan at this point. But there must also be the clear recognition that such efforts can only be supplemented to, not substituted for, domestic, regional and bilateral policies.

The twin keys to our times are complexity and coordination. Multipolar approaches to our most basic international issues, political and economic, are essential. But these approaches must be carefully coordinated. In concrete terms, this means that if the work of experts at one level is to be effective, we must find a way to revitalize democratic politics at another level, so that our peoples will be prepared to support rational, complicated international policies. It is in these respects that the United States, West Europe and Japan share momentous common problems and, hopefully, can find appropriate responses.

Robert A. Scalapino is professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, and editor of Asian Survey. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Asia.

"This is what I mean by the excesses. The Sharon Tate-Charles Manson case comes to mind. That was an incredibly interesting story for us. But in a short time there were other massacres, big killings. On a European newspaper you wind up equating a lot of things that happen in the United States with things that happen in Pakistan—it's a kind of 'so what' reaction."

Everything's Up to Date in Schnitzel City —It Too Doesn't Love the U.S. Any More

By John Vinocur

FRANKFURT (AP)—The Big Schnitzel, the GIs call Frankfurt. It is: Fat banks sitting on reinforced concrete haunches, trees greening with spring and immediately graying with dust from roadway digging, bars like the Florida Boy one door down from Dr. Muller's orange-fronted sex department store, hookers catnapping on the corners.

Dirt, crassness, money badly spent, noise—some Germans say the city is a ruthless caricature of what Europeans find worst in the United States.

After 20 years in which Schnitzel City offered Americans post-war humbleness and assimilated the electric toothbrush and U.S.-type urban problems, things are changing. Some people think that, having chosen poorly from what the United States has to offer, Frankfurt and much of Western Europe are backing away from the fascination they found in things American.

A U.S. Army lieutenant tells of trying to buy an electrical fixture and running into a salesman who refused to speak English and is impatient with the lieutenant's rudimentary German. The officer apologized to the man, saying he's been in the country only two months.

In two months in an American prisoner-of-war camp had English perfect learned," the salesman replies. "We are finished learning from you. Now you learn from us."

A German who has real understanding and affection for the United States says a lot of the old fascination is gone. "We have proved to ourselves that we can do bad things every bit as successfully as you do—look at Frankfurt—and we may be able to do some good ones better. The old inferiority complex is just about gone."

It is not just Frankfurt. Unscientific and occasionally contradictory, subjective evidence argues that an increasing number of Europeans consider America less and less a model or marvel.

In West Germany, after a generation of television viewing centered on Hoss Cartwright, "Bonanza" and other named American shows, sometimes two

of the two national networks are down to two new U.S. serials a week. An official of the ZDF color network explained, "Everybody still enjoys a Western, but most other things don't reflect our life or aspirations."

In the same color network's headquarters in Wiesbaden, two secretarial jobs were offered simultaneously to the house staff. One was in Rome, the other in the network's Washington office at higher pay and benefits. There were 34 applications for the Rome job and two for the post in Washington.

David Roseenthal, a director of Merrill Lynch in Paris, told a friend at lunch, "If most of the American offices here had to go into their French executive or middle management asking

their totals, the number of Frenchmen, Italians, Germans and Britons emigrating to the United States in 1973 decreased.

In France, for example, over the four-year period from 1969 to 1973, the number of emigrants to the United States fell by 25 percent, from about 4,000 to 1,500 annually. In Germany, the decrease was from 8,700 to 5,700 and in Italy from 25,500 to 21,000.

With Europe wealthier and the dollar weaker, more tourists and businessmen felt that traveling to the United States came within their reach. In France, the number of non-immigrant U.S. visas issued rose from 33,000 in 1964 to 106,000 in 1973. At the same time, however, the rise in student visas, a gauge of young people's interest and respect for a coun-

try, was less dramatic. In 1973, 1,000 U.S. record companies are interested in them.

Wolfram Henye, a Munich businessman and Bundeswehr reserve officer, feels much of the admiration Germans had for the United States is gone.

America in the 1940s and 1950s was considered a country where everything functioned, "a class democracy," he said. To a European sick of its own failures, seemed stable, creative. The came the assassinations—of Kennedys and Martin Luther King—the race riots, the Vietnam war, My Lai, the weekend of the dollar and now Watergate. "It was blind love," Mr. Henye said, "and when you fall out of love, everything seems wrong with the person. It's a bit like that."

Flagging Interest

Benoit Rayski, the young foreign editor of France-Soir, the largest-selling French evening newspaper, finds less interest in America, especially in what he calls "your excesses." Not too long ago, Mr. Rayski said, the newspaper usually sent a man to the United States a couple of times a year just to drive around talk to stepworkers, blacks, movie stars and come back to write a series.

"Well, we've stopped that," he said. "The series always seemed to come out the same, and the truth was you'd have a much harder time throwing a headline like 'Fascinating America' at them. French people's interest in the biggest, the tallest, the richest is faded, I think."

"This is what I mean by the excesses," The Sharon Tate-Charles Manson case comes to mind. That was an incredibly interesting story for us. But in a short time there were other massacres, big killings. On a European newspaper you wind up equating a lot of things that happen in the United States with things that happen in Pakistan—it's a kind of 'so what' reaction."

"All those people waiting a line for gas this winter, for example. Some years ago this would have been a big story to us. Perhaps we'd run one picture now. I imagine the reaction of a lot of our readers would be, 'If they didn't build the supersonic jets, they wouldn't have half as much trouble.' A lot of the old envy is gone."

Pop Music

Even in pop music, the old allegiances have faded. For years, with the exception of the English, Continental pop groups were content to rip off the Americans in the local language. Frenchmen borrowed American names—Johnny Hallyday, Eddie Mitchell, Dick Rivers—to sell more records. Now the groups are Mucedades,

for a man to move to the States, they'd find people hiding under their desks. Ten, 15 years ago, they would have lined up outside the door. You can't blow a European's mind any more by showing him a wall oven."

In Paris, where U.S. Western and gangster movies are dissected by eager critics, attendance at American films dropped 25 percent in 1973, despite "The Godfather," a world box-office money spinner. Foreign movie attendance declined in general, but the American drop was starting because attendance at French films improved.

A French film distributor said, "It may be that a lot of people no longer need the kind of escape that American films gave them."

Immigration figures attest to a drying-up of interest. While Canada, New Zealand and Australia have generally increased

During the first half of 1964, there were 300 French applications for student visas to the United States. By 1973, they had increased to only 94.

In Britain, the brain drain—emigration of professionals to the United States for better salaries and working conditions—leveled off about three years ago and, according to a U.S. Immigration Service official, "is just about a thing of the past."

The Great Revolution Begins to Arrive in Tehran

By James F. Clarity

TEHRAN (NYT)—There is an oil shortage in this oasis capital that seems as annoying to Iranians as waiting in gasoline-station lines was to Americans and Europeans.

While fuel-export money and high hopes have accelerated the pace of life in Tehran, its residents are complaining that they cannot buy enough vegetable oil, mostly used for cooking. Gasoline costs about 40 cents a gallon here, and such a relatively low price is considered every Iranian driver's bittersweet. Forty cents is also supposed to be able to buy about a pound of vegetable shortening. But the scarcity of this oil is considered a kitchen catastrophe.

No one, especially the consumer, seems to know exactly what is causing the shortening shortage. A Tehran newspaper said: "The situation remains somewhat confused." It is possible, however, that the Netherlands may be able to help Iran with its oil crisis. Iran supplies the Dutch with fuel oil; the Dutch supply Iranians with vegetable oil.

Two months ago, a strain between Iran and the Netherlands developed when the Iranian ambassador was called back to Tehran, asserting that the Dutch police had failed to protect his embassy properly during a demonstration there by dissident Iranian students. The rift, according to knowledgeable diplomats, has now been healed, and the ambassador may soon return to The Hague. Whether this will help lubricate the cooking pots of Tehran remains to be seen.

Modern Times

Still, the prosperity of the times in Iran—with an expected quadrupling of national income from increased fuel-oil prices—has Tehran's residents rushing about the city as if the great civilization advocated by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who rules this

land, were already here. From the snow-topped Elburz Mountains on the northern edge of town, where many of the wealthy live, to the brown hills to the south, near where the other people live, Tehran is sweeping into the age of automobile-clogged streets, soaring rents and the propensity to consume, or demand, the colorful and shiny artifacts of Western culture.

Along the streets of this city of 3.5 million, about half the women still wear chadors, the Islamic veils that cover them from head to foot. But often a stray breeze whips a chador open to reveal a red-paned suit and patent-leather platform shoes.

This is not considered irreverent, merely fortunate or unfortunate, depending on the beholder or the beheld. Fashionable men wear turtle-neck sweaters; most men have black mustaches.

Paris Clothes

The largest department store in town, Bazar, now boasts Paris clothes and has three detectives roaming the floors in search of shoplifters. The management decided not to use a television

security system because it felt that most of its customers were honest and would respect electronic surveillance.

Color television is slated to appear next year. So is a new plant that will produce Winston cigarettes under an agreement with American producers. Tehran residents are said to prefer Winstons and can tell the difference when they smoke an ersatz American cigarette.

Warnings about health hazards and smoking are not printed on cigarette packages here, but there is some acknowledgment that the habit may be harmful. This week an 11-year-old boy, Joudi Akhlaghi, was hospitalized for an ailment described as chain smoking. He said he would try to switch to a pipe when the hospital released him.

Water runs down from the mountains into trenches called futes to keep the city's trees alive and green, but Tehran is probably the largest city in the world without a flowing sewage system.

A health official warned recently that the city would one day be sipping also a honeycomb of opspools unless a modern

system were installed. It is in the planning stage.

Around the terraces and cocktail lounges of the major hotel, which are all booked full these days, sit Western businessmen and engineers with statistics and diagrams of things they hope to sell here to share in Iran's progress. There are West German heading south on oil projects, Englishmen going into the desert to try to breed cattle, Americans on their way to the city of Isfahan, where Bell helicopters are being phased into the Iran scene by the dozens.

Another Tongue

The newcomers do not speak Farsi, the Iranian language, and the Iranian writers and models in the hotels do not speak much English, French or German. But the lure of profit seems to be everyone communicating awkwardly.

While there seems to be little awareness in Tehran of Iran's difficulties with its neighbor, the west, Iraq, the government has not forgotten. An air-raid test, complete with sirens and people taking shelter, is scheduled for an undisclosed time in the near future.

A view of Shahreza Avenue in Tehran

Rumblings of Autonomy Grow in Swiss Jura as Vote Nears: 'Oui' or 'Nein'

State-Chief Alan Tiller.
interest
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it happen

Private Interests vs. the Public Interest

by Samuel Abt
ny M

Why is it that
presidential campaigns
are tedious reading? The
answer must be the
of the candidates, as the
comment of H. L. Men-
demonstrates that system-
ment under which the
saying 60,000,000 native-
alt whites to choose from
thousands who are
and many who are
out a Coolidge to be
state. It is as if a hungry
before a banquet pre-
master cooks and cover-
an acre in area should
back upon the feast and
stomach by catching and
soo-sooing.

Mr. Crouse furnishes
that another part of the
must be the stature of
Mr. McGovern who travel with the
es and detail their every
and speech, month after
month. Which is what Mr.
himself has done, con-
ing instead on the press
at traveled with Sen.
McGovern in 1972 during
his unsuccessful chase af-
ward Nixon.

"Boys on the Bus" is the
h of an article written
ing Stone, but bearing
the hyperbroid prose of
Mr. Crouse has a good eye
and he has written a
book. Its main point, made
and often, is that the cam-
paign is hamstrung by a lack
of physical exhaustion by
the physical dedication to
the job.

of skill seems to be the
these flaws. In a portrait
Apple Jr. of The New
Times one, incidentally,
attempts to have lost much of
him since its appearance in
Mr. Stone's Mr. Crouse hints
that most reporters are by
"begging" how good Mr.
is. Not only did other re-
spread Apple's articles, for
information, they also
him for guidance when
they had to cover a story
there were no handouts, no
yes and no easy winners.
Mr. Crouse then describes
a predict caucus of the
1972, when delegates to
Democratic National Conven-
tion elected.

what happened," the Mo-
worker is quoted as hav-
ed, "was that Apple sat in a
and everyone peered over
shoulder to find out what he
was doing. The AP guy was
over one shoulder, the
over the other and CBS,
BC and the Baltimore Sun
crowding in behind See.
like a primary. No one
ow to interpret, these fig-
body knew what was good
at was bad so they all
king it off Apple.
ould sit down and write a
ad they would go write
then he'd change his lead
over results came in, and
all change theirs accord-
Apple sat down to write
story. He called it some-
ke a surprisingly strong
for George McGovern.
dy peered over his shoul-
der and picked it up. It was
front page of every major
ver the next day."

arly with Walter Mears of
olated Press, about whom
ter is quoted as having
he can get out a coherent
at the right point on top
minute and thirty seconds.
ided. It's like a parlor
He watches some goddam
if a half hour and he un-
is the most important

northern part of the country who
seek the quasi-independence en-
joyed by Swiss cantons for their
picturesque region of wooded
mountains, gorges and high grazing
lands.

After 25 years of proclamations
and pressure—and a few acts of
terrorism—they are being per-
mitted to vote on their future.
At the moment, the Jura forms
part of the canton of Bern, where

the French-speaking Juraissiens
are outnumbered seven to one by
German-speakers.

This weekend, thousands of
these mountain folk poured into
Porrentruy, the ancient capital
of Jura, for a special congress of
the movement, the Rassemble-
ment Juraissien, called to decide
whether to boycott the autonomy
referendum on June 23 or to vote
"oui."

Why the doubt? Under Switzer-
land's complicated system of
referendum decision-making, the
German-speaking Juraissien dis-
tricts, which will almost certainly
vote against autonomy on June
23, will be allowed a second vote,
enabling them to choose to stay
with their Bernese German coun-
sins and so split the Jura in half.
The two-day Juraissien rally
opened with a concert by the

French folk singer Hugues Au-
fray, a supporter of minority
movements. Then 5,000 young
Juraissiens marched through the
town in a long column carrying
At Porrentruy's main hall, the
Juraissien delegates voted 504 to 1
to back autonomy even if it
means a divided Jura.

However, the majority of the
autonomists feel that the long
struggle for self-government
which has its historical roots in
the decision of the Congress of
Vienna in 1815 to attach the old
Jura principality to Bern, dic-
tates that Juraissien grab what
truncated territory they can.

The new small canton which
would result from approval of the
referendum would be Switzer-
land's 26th and would have wide
powers of self-rule while leaving
foreign affairs and defense in the
hands of the confederation.

The Juraissiens talk of a new
"etat" (state) rather than can-
ton. They already look north to
the French Jura. They have
sentimental linguistic and cul-
tural ties with their French coun-
sins and want to expand trade
links.

"We are criticized for trying to
create a new canton when Europe
is seeking to unite," admits one
of the Rassemblement leaders,
Jean-Michel Girardin, a sales-
man.

"But we don't intend to shut
ourselves in," he said. "We want
to open up to the world, particu-
larly the north where the
center of the Common Market
lies. Paris along the Rhine-
Rhine link will be a reality."

His home of Montbéliard was
well known to the Juraissiens as
the site of the 18th-century battle
of Veljez, in which the Juraissien
army defeated the Bernese army.
The battle was a decisive victory
for the Juraissiens.

Montbéliard was the last
and Mr. Girardin said that the
Juraissien army would be ready
to fight again if necessary.

The Juraissien army would be
ready to fight again if necessary.
The Juraissien army would be
ready to fight again if necessary.

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The Juraissien army would be
ready to fight again if necessary.
The Juraissien army would be
ready to fight again if necessary.

When they set foot in the
new Jura, farms and walls sprouted
the Jura emblem of a bishop's
crosier and seven red and white
stars representing the seven dis-
tricts of Jura.

"The Jura question became a
stain on the reputation of Swit-
zerland around the world," said
Hélène Bouchard, a Delemon-
economist who edits the fiery
newspaper "Le Jura Libre."

The Bern cantonal authorities
were slow to pressure and agreed
to a referendum the sale question
of which will be, "Do you want
a canton?" Switzerland has regu-
larly held referendums on a range of
subjects from emigration to the
building of a casino. The crea-
tion of the last canton was in
1848.

The present vote is complica-
ted by the steady influx of Ger-
man-speakers into the region.
The brilliant Mr. Beguelin has
sought to have these Swiss Ger-
mans barred from voting. "They
will not vote 'oui' but 'nein,'" he
said.

It was a language dispute (the
Juraissien of the German-dominated
canton government to allow a
Juraissien to have the public work-
force because of his language)

which led to the creation of the
Rassemblement Juraissien in 1947.
Since then, the Juraissiens say,
law after law has been forced
down their throats by the Bernese
"Germans." They sought to have
voting on June 23 restricted to
Jura-generation Juraissiens. In
fact, three months' residence will
offset. They have tried unsuccess-
fully to get the vote for 60,000
overseas Juraissiens.

There is also heavy pressure on
the "Germans" to abstain from
voting.

But another local politician,
Dr. Paul Gehler, favors continued
integration with Bern and stated:
"We pay 40 million (Swiss francs)
—\$13.8 million—in taxes and re-
ceive 60 million in return while
Bern in its kindness, also gives
us 30 percent of the budget for
roads instead of the 14 percent
due to us. When you are well
treated, you don't lack your dinner
in the kitchen. The Rassemble-
ment wants to change things by
force, but the Swiss people love
democracy too much to agree to
that."

It's going to be a short, very
sharp campaign before June 23.
On one side is yet another Euro-
pean minority revolting against
what it considers excessive cen-
tralized control. On the other
are those who feel, like Dr. Gehler,
that "it is crazy to set up a mini-
mini state," a sort of Liechten-
stein at the other end of Switzer-
land.

The political debate is heating
up in the taverns. The moni-
tored near the loss of southern
Jura where the German-speakers
may tip the balance. Editor Be-
guelin advises the Juraissiens to
accept even a limited canton and
constantly draws a comparison
with the Israelis.

"They got a state on territory
with impossible borders. Then
they broke out from the corset."

Thus was the line preached by
him and other leaders when the
Juraissiens poured into Porrentruy
with their banners this weekend.

THE BOYS ON THE BUS

Riding With
the Campaign Press
Corps.

By Timothy Crouse.
Random House
371 pp. \$7.95.

thing that happened—that hap-
pened in public, I mean?

In case his readers are slow to
understand that Mr. Mears has
just been praised for simply being
able to do his job, Mr. Crouse
then tells of the scene in the
pressroom during a debate be-
tween Sen. McGovern and Sen.
Hubert Humphrey during the
California primary while both
were seeking the Democratic
nomination.

"Two other reporters," Mr.
Crouse writes, "one from New
York, another from Chicago,
headed toward Mears shooting.
'Lead? Lead?'" A Boston reporter
"came at him from another direc-
tion. 'Walter, Walter, what's our
lead?'" he said.

In other nonjournalistic words,
the reporters were asking Mr.
Mears to tell them what they had
just heard.

Many Examples

Alas, there are many examples
of such bumbling. Mr. Crouse re-
ports that in the last weeks of the
campaign, just before Mr. Nixon
was to win with 60.83 percent of
the vote, two New York Times re-
porters were betting that Sen.
McGovern would come within five
and two points, respectively, of
Mr. Nixon. There's more of this.
On the Sunday before the elec-
tion, when The Times said on its
front page that Sen. McGovern
had a chance to win only two
states, Massachusetts and Wiscon-
sin, the entire McGovern press
corps attempted to bet the writer
of the article that Sen. McGovern
would win more than that. He
won only Massachusetts among
the states.

The second incident—al-
though the book is so generally
genial that this may be too harsh
a word—levelled by Mr. Crouse
against the press corps is its phys-
ical exhaustion. He makes this
point early and often, too, start-
ing with an account of the phone
call at 6:45 a.m. that awakens
each reporter at a hotel in Los
Angeles. "It was lonely on these
early mornings," Mr. Crouse notes,
"and often excruciatingly painful
to tear oneself away from a brief,
sudden spell of sleep."

Mr. Crouse then describes the
way the reporters are berded—
there is no other word—out of the
hotel and into a bus, out of the
bus for a breakfast appearance by
the candidate, back into the bus,
back off the bus for a television
raping, back into the bus, back
off the bus for a luncheon and
dash for telephones and
Telexes, back into the bus for an
afternoon identical to the morn-
ing. And a tomorrow identical to
today.

This routine, Mr. Crouse points
out, establishes a herd instinct,
the same instinct that drives
cattle into a stampede. He de-
scribes James Doyle of the Wash-
ington Star in mood of doubt:
"Dead tired from a week on
the road late in the campaign
that runs from February until
November. Later that night
there would be a McGovern
telex and Democratic party
dinner to cover."

"A lot of people," he said, "look
at this coverage as if it were some
kind of a cross-country race—you
gotta get two paragraphs in when

he stops at Indianapolis and two
more when he stops at Newark. If
you do it that way, without mak-
ing any meaning out of it, it is
going to come out like some crazy
disjointed trip across the country."

"The problem is, if you try to
write every day, you get caught
up in sheer exhaustion. It's as
simple as that. You do it by
rote, because that's all you've got
the energy for. It's the lack of
sleep, the keeping up with dead-
lines, the disorientation from all
this flying around—your mind
just goes blank after a while.
When it comes time to write the
story, all you can do is just kind
of a level job of stumbling through
the day's events."

Although he offers no prescrip-
tion for the reader who wants
more than a "stumbling through"
of the candidate's position, Mr.
Crouse is quite busy as a diag-
nostician. This is another of his
chilling portraits:

"If you stayed away from the
campaign for any period of time
and then came on again, the first
thing that struck you was the
shocking physical deterioration of
the press corps. During the sum-
mer, the reporters had looked
fairly healthy. Now their skin
was puffy and greenish, they had
ugly dark pouches under their
glazed eyes, and their bodies had
become bloated with the regimine
of nonstop drinking and five or
six starchy airplane meals every
day. Toward the end, they began
to suffer from a fiendish combina-
tion of fatigue and anxiety. They
had arrived at the last two weeks,
when the public finally wanted
to read about the campaign—
front-page play every day!—and
they were so tired that it nearly
killed them to pound out a decent
piece."

"The reporters were trying
desperately to write well, but it
sometimes took them five minutes
to think of the answers to a
simple question. At filing time,
everyone would suddenly become
fidgety and manic-smoking,
crumpling papers, biting finger-
nails, shouting into phones, cursing
on the last dregs of nervous
energy—and then they would
lapse back into catatonia. To do
a decent job, they often had to
stay up all night to finish a long
piece, and there was no way to
catch up on sleep. They were
coming down to the wire—they
had to save a few volts of energy
to grind out long pre- and post-
election articles. Yet all they
could feel was numbness...."

"During the last week, the press
bus looked like a Black Maria,
sent out to round up vines: half
the reporters were passed out
with their mouths wide open and
their notebooks fallen in their
laps. When they were awake,
they often wandered like zombies.
On one of the last days of the
campaign, Jules Witcover walked
from the Biltmore Hotel to a rally
in midtown Manhattan and had
to be repeatedly stopped from
sleepwalking into traffic against
the red light. Bill Greider,
perhaps the most exhausted man
on the plane, had a strange habit
of placing his arms by his sides,
as if wearing an imaginary strait-
jacket, and walking around in
circles. Toward the end, the only
thing that stimulated Greider's
adrenal glands was martial music,
and he recorded the high school
bands at every rally. Later, when
he needed a shot of energy in the
pressroom, he would turn up his
Sony all the way and bang away
at his Olivetti as 'Onward Chris-
tian Soldiers' or 'Happy Days'
blasted out of the speaker."

Mercifully, Mr. Crouse does not
harp on the misdeeds that were
being gathered and reported by
such zombies.

Throughout this bleak narra-
tive, the reader is left in no
doubt why reporters go through
this mortification. Mr. Crouse
gives a first hint by discussing
what he terms the "low-grade
bystanderism" of campaign reporting:
"To file a story late, or to make
one glaring factual error, was to
chance losing everything—one's
job, one's expense account, one's
drinking buddies, one's mad-dash
excitement, and the methedrine
buzz that comes from knowing
stories that the public would not
know for hours and secrets that
the public would never know."

Is this truly the way news-
papermen look to an outsider,
with not even a suspicion that
the point of the enterprise is to
inform the reader? In this writer
of perquisites, did the press corps
never imply a sense of mission?

Mr. Crouse has no interest in
this question, because, seemingly,
his subjects do not. What he
focuses on instead throughout his
book is the stench of careerism
in the press bus.

A campaign reporter's
career is linked to the fortunes
of his candidate. If he is writ-
ing about the front runner, he is
guaranteed front-page play for
his articles, and, as Walter Mears
once told me, "Everything is
measured by play in the papers."
If he can hang on in a
winner through the primaries, he
will probably be assigned to
follow him through the fall elec-
tion—perhaps all the way to "the
White House."

A campaign reporter who
covers one of the two major can-
didates is usually headed for
bigger things. The presidential
polls beat is one or two steps
down from being a junior or
senior executive on the paper.
David Broder said after the elec-
tion, "Most of the guys who
covered the first campaign that
I was on in 1960 are now editors
of the editorial pages of their
papers, or managing editors, or
bureau chiefs who spend most of
their time doing stuff around
Washington...."

A Constant Point

Again and again Mr. Crouse
makes this point:

"The regular White House cor-
respondents," he writes, "could
be divided into two basic types.
There were the old-timers, who
had come into the job as a sure-
thing, a reward for long years of
faithful service; to them, the
pressroom was one more quiet
men's club. And there were the
young, ambitious types—who
saw the job as a showcase for
their talents. If they did well,
they would move up to become
bureau chiefs and editors...."

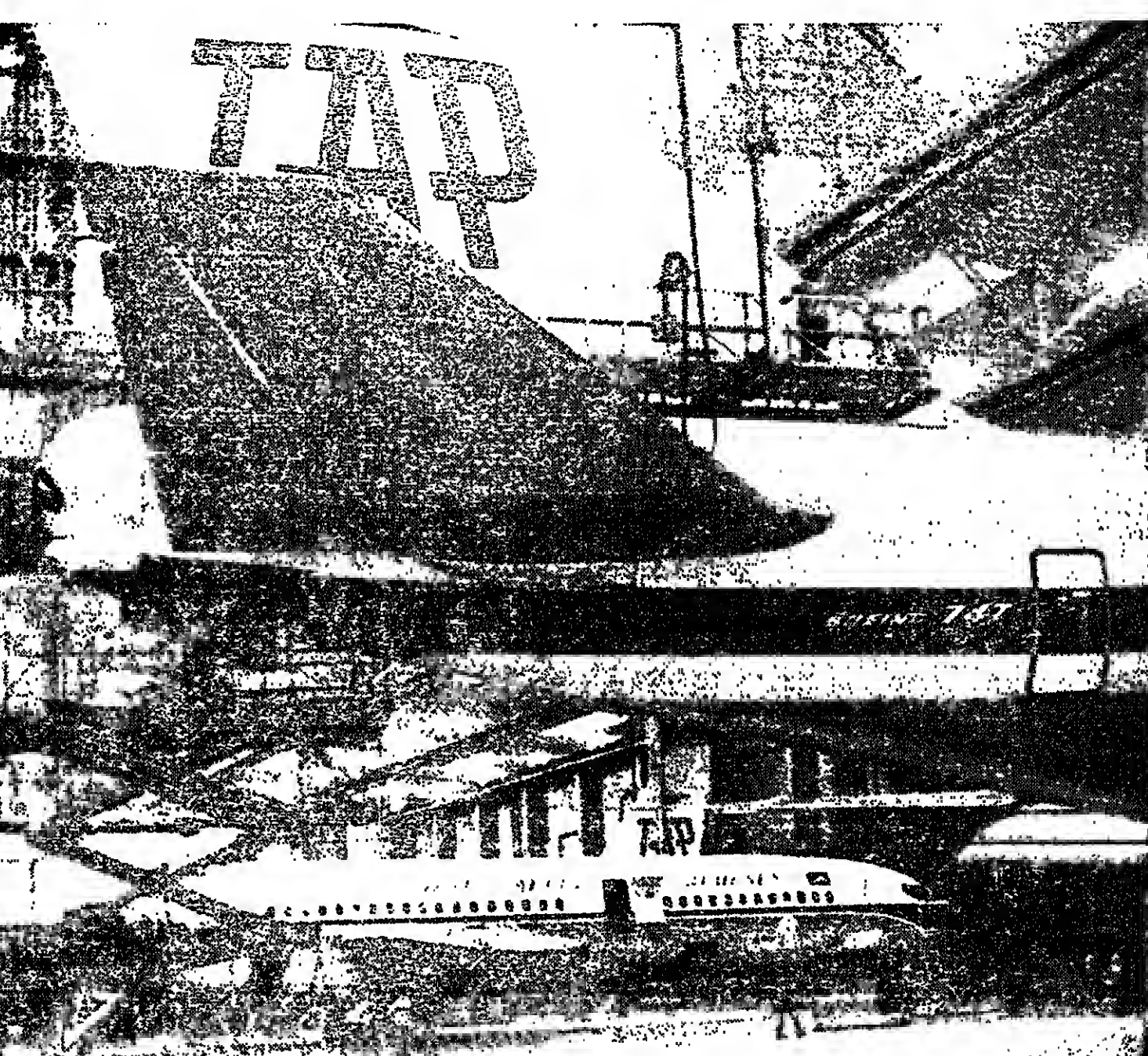
Somewhere about the middle of
this book, plowing through the
constant travels of the candidate
and the hazards of reporting the
same events day after day, the
reader may be struck with the
fortunes of baseball writers,
whose job is almost exactly iden-
tical to that of political reporters,
minus the pomposity. Night
game in Detroit today, a plane
trip and an inopportune hotel to
accompany the day game in Mil-
waukee tomorrow; a double
header the next day and then
another flight and night game in
Oakland the next day, with the
quality of the baseball as super-
ficially unvarying as the can-
didate's set speeches on foreign
policy and cotton subsidies.

Day games, night games and
double headers, hurried meals
and scrambling for interviews
and quotes, the sleep bought
with liquor and the deadlines paid
for in anxiety dreams, and yet
nobody tells stories about base-
ball writers similar to those in
Mr. Crouse's book. No baseball
writer predicts in the spring that
an all-time no-hit shortstop will
lead the league in home runs;
nobody says in August that the
San Diego Padres have a shot
at the pennant; nobody dashes
around shouting "Lead? Lead?"
as the ninth inning ends.

There is no ambition gnawing
at baseball writers; when they
make it big, they manage only to
continue covering baseball games.
There are no dreams of the
managing editor's office or a
place on the editorial board, just
the gorgeous life of watching
baseball played seven months a
year.

And so there are none of the
horror stories Mr. Crouse recounts
of cooked-out druggies inter-
posing their ambition between
the reader and what can be dis-
cerned of the truth about the
most important elective office in
the world.

The last word is Mr. Crouse's.
He closes his book with an
account of the farewells at
National Airport in Washington
as the McGovern press corps dis-
banded: "The reporters stood in
little groups around their luggage,
looking shipwrecked waiting to
be picked up by their wives....
It would be a good while before
any of them would again discover
the same irresistible combination
of camaraderie, hardship and
luxury. They now had to go back
to paying the dues which would
earn them another campaign in
1976."



An airline should be big enough
to have its own 747 maintenance facility
...and small enough to care about your children.

Did you know that many
airlines have no facilities for
performing major maintenance
on their air fleets? Knowing that,
you can better appreciate the
fact that TAP, The Intercontinen-
tal Airline of Portugal, has a
maintenance facility that's
totally modern. For example,
our people can actually take a
giant 747 B's engines apart and
totally rebuild them to achieve
brand-new performance.

It's one of the newest, most
modern maintenance centers
anywhere. Over 2,000 skilled
technicians keep it in operation
24 hours a day, every day, car-
rying out meticulous inspections
and maintenance on every
detail of TAP's 747 fleet. And
they know their jobs well: last

year they attended 72 Boeing-
created courses—for a total of
8,500 class hours!

But keeping our planes
functioning perfectly is not our
only job as an airline. Keeping
our passengers happy is an
important one, too. Particularly
the children. We Portuguese
have a special fondness for
youngsters (our big families
prove it). So we provide special
TAP games and coloring books
for the older ones. And complete
"mother's helper" facilities for
the tiny ones.

Big-airline technology and
small-airline thoughtfulness:
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just your size.

We're as big as an airline should be.



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in the USA
Latin America
& the Pacific

EUROPCAR

in Europe
Africa & the
Middle East

=

2500 stations at your service

Bonds	Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last	Net Chggs
U.S. Govt.	78.96	-1.00
Municipal	10.00	+0.00
Corp.	10.00	+0.00
Total	98.96	-1.00

Crane 1p5s93	57	52	88 1/2	90
CredFin 93s75	30	99 1/2	99 1/2	99
CredFin 93s75	27	67	12 1/2	12

[illegible]

All coupons are to be received no later than
June 28th, 1974.

To Know Our Business

is a major independent producer, refiner and marketer of petroleum products with extensive chemical, road construction and coal operations. Record fiscal 1973 results include: Revenues, \$2.35 billion, +15.4%; Net income, \$85.2 million, +25.2%; Per share earnings, \$3.37, +28.1%. Dividends, paid consecutively since 1936, were raised to \$1.30 per share and have since been increased to \$1.40.

Canadian Silver-Gold Producer
With precious metal prices at or near their highest levels in history, Danks Mines Ltd. (N.P.L.) of Vancouver, B.C., has resumed production of silver and gold from the Company's mine at Keremeos, British Columbia. Milling currently at 125 tons daily, the mill has in the last of five years a reserves in sight, averaging 7.8 ozs. silver and 0.033 oz. gold per ton of ore, plus additional recoverable lead-zinc values. An aggressive exploration program is being launched to follow up encouraging preliminary findings along strike and down dip. Immediate objective is output of about 35,000 ozs. silver per month. Danks Mines Ltd. has 1,822,474 shares outstanding, listed on the Vancouver Stock Exchange (DOK).

GOLDEX MINES LIMITED—Now preparing its gold property in Malartic Area, Quebec, for production, initially operating as shipper to nearby custom mill with ore shipments scheduled to begin mid-1974. Mine developed by decline adit giving access to 1200 ft. long gold mineralized zone with three stope areas being readied for production. Shares listed Montreal Stock Exchange, Canada, ticker symbol "GLX".

NCR Corporation
NCR is the world's second largest producer of general business equipment (1973 revenues: \$1.8 billion; net: \$72 million). Products include computer systems, electronic point-of-service terminals, financial terminals and other data entry products plus wide range of free-standing business equipment including cash registers and accounting machines. Also data center services, business forms and supplies. 1,200 offices in 120 countries. Worldwide employment is 21,000. 15

SEA PINES COMPANY

The Sea Pines Company builds quality resort and recreational communities in the southeastern United States and has opened Palmetto Beach, a new, exciting, national resort in Puerto Rico. Guided by young and aggressive management, Sea Pines is considered to be one of the foremost community and resort builders anywhere. Its corporate earnings and revenues have continued to increase annually, and this financial success is attributed to the company's wise investment in and careful development of naturally beautiful properties.

The Bendix Corporation is a diversified worldwide manufacturer serving the automotive, aerospace and housing markets. Bendix' earnings for fiscal 1973 were up 24 percent to a record \$69.3 million, or \$4.19 per share, as compared to 1972 earnings before a special nonrecurring credit and extraordinary items, on a 25 percent increase in revenues to \$2.23 billion. The company recently increased its quarterly dividend per Common share to \$.45.

As industrial development continues, agricultural needs increase. 1973 presented an unprecedented demand for John Deere agricultural and industrial machines and lawn care equipment. Sales reached over 2 billion dollars for the first time with net income at its highest level. We would like to tell you about our investment plans for the future and our strong product lines for world markets. Write for a free annual report.

is the world's largest oil field services and engineering/construction organization serving the energy industries worldwide. In 1973, the Company's revenues increased 30% to \$2.1 billion, with \$580.6 million from operations outside the U.S.A. Net income was up 37% to \$90.4 million, including \$34.9 million from international operations. Brown & Root, Inc., a Mobilburton subsidiary, is the leading marine construction contractor in the North Sea.

Pearmeer Corporation

Converting Sawdust, Wood Chips
and Vinyl Film into Important
Furniture and Building Products

	1973	1972
Assets	\$119,300,000	\$97,400,000
Income	\$3,027,060	\$1,002,000
	.67	.23

With innovative technology, Pearmeer Corporation is one of the fastest growing producers of furniture and building products in the United States.

16

UNITED INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION
Record sales and earnings highlight 1973 operations. A diversified organization primarily engaged in hospital supplies and equipment, industrial coal stokers and municipal incinerators, plastic products, and Government Research & Development. Our most promising potentials include the hospital market, social areas for solar energy heating, and the reconversion to coal by manufacturing plants. Listed on N.Y. & Pac. Coast Exchanges Symbol - UIC. **20**
UIC selective as STOCK of the WEEK

One of the largest suppliers to the automotive industry, Worldwide markets. Products include automotive steel and plastic body components, chassis frames, wheel products, castings, prototype stampings, cold climate products, and exhaust system silencers. Budd also produces a wide range of highway trailers and container chassis, railway passenger cars and engineered plastics.

Chicago based, Diversey is a worldwide manufacturer and marketer of specialty chemical products and equipment used for cleaning and sanitation in the food processing, institutional food service and other industries and for metals treatment.

1973 sales (including 50% owned companies) \$87.5 million—up 17%. Earnings per share \$1.86—up 23%.

Shares listed American Stock Exchange, ticker symbol: "DIV".

one of the largest and fastest growing international container-leasing and service organizations, provides intermodal cargo containers to many of the world's major shippers and shipping lines. With a network of more than 165 neutral pool points around the world at which pool members may pick up and drop off containers as needed, Interpool also manufactures containers and container handling equipment.

Currently engaged in underground development program at Bachelor Lake Area gold property in Quebec preparatory to production planning. Company has second gold property, Timmins Area, Ontario, where surface drilling has indicated gold bearing zone over strike length in excess of 2000 feet with underground program scheduled to commence early 1974. Shares listed Toronto Stock Exchange, ticker symbol "QSR"; traded OTC in U.S.A.

WUI INC.

Operating revenues reached \$69,911,000 for the full year, resulting in a new high in earnings of \$5,929,000 or \$1.96 per share. This compares with operating revenues of \$63,641,000 and earnings of \$5,282,000 or \$1.72 per share in 1972, which had represented the company's previous peak. The company is not in any way affiliated with the Western Union Telegraph Company or its parent Western Union Corporation.

21

five years of improved performance. This growth record helped to make Burroughs a leader in the dynamic international computer industry.

Burroughs' 1973 Annual Report includes a ten-year summary of the Company's financial performance and details major reasons for its success, including a broad range of advanced products, a worldwide organization, and high-caliber personnel.

Available in French, Spanish

diversified utility and manufacturing enterprise participating in two of the fastest growing industries—communications and electronics. Since 1950, per share have increased 44% and over the past ten years exceed 100 index. During this period, we have doubled, increasing \$1.63 in 1963 to the current indicated value of \$1.72 per share.

MAPCO Inc.
MAPCO is an integrated air pollution control company. Produces and markets oil, gas, acids, coal and liquid plant by pipeline systems is a major in the transportation of LPG and various ammonia.
MAPCO had sales of \$40 million in 1983 and earned 16¢ per share. In 1983, sales were \$145 million, earnings \$1.05 a share. That's a compounded growth rate in earnings for the 10 years!
MAPCO's still working to grow. SE Symbol: MDA.

SECURITIES Inc.

LAUNDRY WORK WEAR CORPORATION

Laundry Work Wear Corporation, in its various plants, operates industrial laundry, garment rental facilities and manufactures work clothes, uniforms, Apparels and disposable protective, industrial and medical garments, plastic packs and other special products. Prime marketing areas are: the industrial, transportation, hospital, military, food and food service, and commercial fields. The Company has facilities throughout the United States, in Canada, Hong Kong, India and Portugal, and maintains interest in laundry facilities in Japan.

PARIS, MONDAY, MAY 20, 1973

Page 9

Eurobonds

Italians Offer Inflation Hedge
of 10-Year Floating-Rate Notes

By Carl Gewirtz

S. MAY 19 (REUTERS)—The swings in the dollar-mark exchange rate, sparked by revised figures of an impending revaluation of the mark, added a new nervousness to the markets.

Despite the anxieties expressed by bankers about Europe about whether the marks can withstand the strains, business continues to be done.

The public Eurobond market, not easy matter since the high and still rising interest rates offer a return that cannot be matched by the traditional fixed-rate bonds. However, a formula of a percentage point in interest rates were also being reintroduced.

The borrower is Italy's state-owned telephone company, STET, which is seeking \$50 million in 10-year notes. The company is to be paid by the government every six months at three percent.

The six-month Eurodollar interbank offered (LIBO) rate at present, this is at 12 percent means investors receive 13.75 percent (as of course, that when the terms of the loan are set, the LIBO rate is still rising).

Notes should be especially attractive to small investors who are looking for a hedge against inflation. The investment opportunity is available to small investors.

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Economic Indicators

WEEKLY COMPARISONS

	May 10 Latest Week	May 3 Prior Week	1973
Community index	224.8	224.1	100.6
Currency in circ.	\$72,958,000	\$72,497,000	\$66,551,000
Total loans	\$123,329,000	\$123,329,000	\$105,686,000
Stock prod. (mo.)	2,018,000	2,011,000	2,025,000
Auto prod. (mo.)	1,087,000	1,087,000	1,087,000
Auto prod. (yr.)	12,847,000	12,847,000	12,847,000
Export	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000
Imports	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000
Open failure	240	240	240

Statistics for commercial-agricultural loans, encodings, steel, oil, electric power and business failures are for the preceding week and latest available.

MONTHLY COMPARISONS

	April	Prior Month	1973
Employed	84,775,000	84,775,000	84,775,000
Unemployed	4,558,000	4,558,000	4,558,000
Ind. Prod.	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Money supply	\$272,500,000	\$272,500,000	\$272,500,000
Consumer price index	143.1	143.1	143.1
Construction index	141.5	141.5	141.5
Export	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000
Imports	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000	\$2,772,000

*000 omitted. Figures subject to revision by source.

Commodity index, based on 1967=100, and employment figures are compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal Reserve Board's adjusted index of 1967=100. Imports and exports are compiled by the Department of Commerce. Money supply is total currency outside banks and deposits adjusted as reported by Federal Reserve Board. Business failures are compiled by Dun & Bradstreet, Inc. Construction contracts are compiled by the F. W. Dodge Division, McGraw-Hill Information Systems Company.

R-Revised.

the problem until now has been to convince a borrower to come to market.

Until very recently, there was no incentive because banks were flush with surplus cash and were falling over each other in trying to lend money. As a result of this competition, banks were offering to lend huge sums for as little as three-eighths of a point.

Now the LIBO rate—terms that could not be matched either in size or in cost on the public market.

At this point, the terms available to Italy in the public market are almost as favorable as what can be had from the banks—opening a new source of funds to the hard-pressed Italians.

No chances are being taken on the loan not being a success and a syndicate of international

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 1)

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Barometer Rising After Depressing 1st Quarter

By Thomas E. Mullaney

NEW YORK, May 19 (NYT)—Despite the rather depressing revision of the first quarter's economic record by the Commerce Department Friday, optimism is being more rampant in the business world and the American economy seems to be blossoming more broadly day by day.

It is true, of course, that the slubrious days of summer have not yet appeared on the economic scene and it is certainly questionable how warm the business climate will really become this year. Nevertheless, the barometers of business activity in recent weeks have been considerably more encouraging.

The government's latest figures on the economy for the first quarter were both disappointing and surprising. They showed that real growth had dropped to an annual rate of 4.3 percent, instead of the 5.6 percent decline reported a month ago, and that inflation had soared to a rate of 11.5 percent, instead of the previous estimate of 10.8 percent. On both counts, that was making bad news even worse.

However, an outgoing Secretary of the Treasury, George Shultz, observed recently at the Business Council meeting in Hot Springs, Ark., the least that can be said at the moment is that the direction of the economy appears to have changed—for the better.

Decline Is Over

The important lines on the graphs are no longer declining after the difficult winter, when rampant inflation, the energy crisis, dampened public sentiment and reduced demand for goods combined to cast a pall over the whole economic picture and deeply clouded the future.

The two most important changes noted recently on the

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New York Stock Market

NEW YORK, May 19 (REUTERS)—The economic and political barometers of the New York Stock Exchange Friday were mixed, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average ending at 318.34.

Prices were mixed after the first three trading sessions and ended at 318.34. The Dow Jones Industrial Average ended at 318.34.

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(Continued on Page 11, Col. 3)

Over-Counter Market

Sales in 1972 High Low Last Change

Sales in 1972 High Low Last Change

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Quote May 17, 1974
Luxembourg Francs 79 U.S. \$2.00

FCE Quotations

May 20, 1974

	1974	1973
DJIA	815.516	815.520
FTSE	270.270	270.270
NYSE	300.300	300.300
TKOJ	400.400	400.400

Rules and regulations available from:
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Due 1984

BANQUE INTERNATIONALE A LUXEMBOURG S.A.,
as trustee for the above-mentioned Bonds, announces that
the second annual redemption installment of U.S. \$625,000,
due August 1, 1974, has been purchased in the market so
that a drawing by lot of Bonds to be redeemed on August 1,
1974, is not necessary.

The amount of Bonds remaining outstanding after
August 1, 1974, is U.S. \$23,375,000.

BANQUE INTERNATIONALE A LUXEMBOURG,
Société Anonyme.

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Please rush by return mail my IHT-shirts as follows:
() 1 Large \$7
() 1 Small (children to age 12) \$5

Enclosed is my cheque, money order, in one of the following
currencies: French francs, U.S. dollars, Belgian francs, Swiss
francs, German marks, British sterling, Swedish kroner, Danish
kroner, Norwegian kroner, Dutch florins.

Name _____
Street _____
Code _____ City _____
Country _____

Please print - Coupon will be used as your mailing label
This offer must be limited to European addresses only.

Bond Sales on the New York Stock Exchange

Bonds	Sales in \$1000 High Low Last chg	Net
Alcoa 5.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 6.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 7.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 8.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 9.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 10.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 11.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 12.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 13.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 14.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 15.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 16.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 17.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 18.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 19.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 20.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 21.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 22.50s	100 100 100 100	100
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Alcoa 97.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 98.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 99.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 100.50s	100 100 100 100	100

Bonds	Sales in \$1000 High Low Last chg	Net
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Alcoa 6.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 7.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 8.50s	100 100 100 100	100
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Alcoa 11.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 12.50s	100 100 100 100	100
Alcoa 13.50s	100 100 100 100	100
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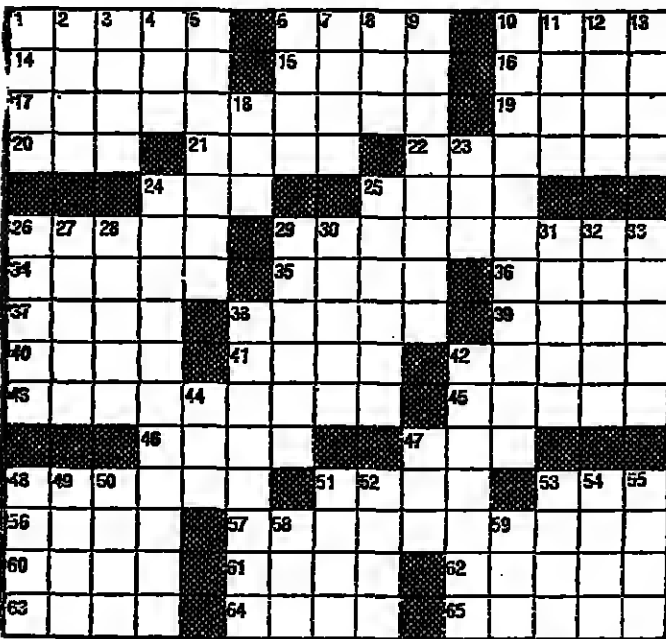
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ACROSS

- 1 Wisecracks
- 2 Freeman Gosden role
- 10 Pronoun
- 14 Hebrew patriarch
- 15 Segment
- 16 Roman or Draper
- 17 City on the Merrimack
- 19 Earthen jar
- 20 Time of year
- 21 Hauboy
- 22 Dessert item
- 23 Hope or white
- 25 Writer Bellow
- 26 Plot
- 29 Exorbitant tenant costs
- 34 Incenses
- 35 Fencing item
- 36 Asian tent
- 37 Son of Lot
- 38 Suave
- 39 Manitoban Indian
- 40 Gaelic
- 41 Parasites
- 42 Fundamental
- 43 Does a Labrador's job
- 45 Pointed ridge
- 46 Represent oneself

DOWN

- 1 Two
- 2 Son of 14 Across
- 3 Spilled the beans
- 4 Military group
- 5 University
- 6 I-hesa
- 7 Husband or wife
- 8 Neighbor of Cal.
- 9 Did a faddish caper
- 10 Fading part of the street scene
- 11 Dance in pantomime
- 12 Husband of Gudrun



WEATHER

				LONDON.....	18	65	Cloudy
ALBUQUERQUE.....	72	73	Fair	LOS ANGELES.....	15	60	Fair
ANCHORAGE.....	72	72	Fair	MADRID.....	22	65	Cloudy
ATLANTA.....	72	72	Fair	MILAN.....	24	75	Fair
BALTIMORE.....	72	72	Fair	MONTREAL.....	11	52	Fair
BIRMINGHAM.....	72	72	Fair	MOSCOW.....	20	65	Cloudy
BOSTON.....	72	72	Fair	MUNICH.....	20	65	Fair
BUFFALO.....	72	72	Fair	NEW YORK.....	21	70	Sunny
CHICAGO.....	72	72	Fair	NICOSIA.....	21	65	Fair
CINCINNATI.....	72	72	Fair	OSLO.....	24	75	Fair
CLEVELAND.....	72	72	Fair	PARIS.....	24	75	Fair
DALLAS.....	72	72	Fair	PORTUGAL.....	21	70	Fair
DENVER.....	72	72	Fair	ROME.....	21	65	Fair
DETROIT.....	72	72	Fair	SOFIA.....	13	50	Overcast
EL PASO.....	72	72	Fair	SPYKHOV.....	16	60	Fair
HOUSTON.....	72	72	Fair	ST. PETERSBURG.....	21	70	Fair
INDIANAPOLIS.....	72	72	Fair	TEHRAN.....	27	90	Fair
JACKSONVILLE.....	72	72	Fair	TUNIS.....	25	74	Cloudy
KANSAS CITY.....	72	72	Fair	VIENNA.....	21	75	Fair
KARLSRUHE.....	72	72	Fair	WARSAW.....	27	75	Fair
KATOWICE.....	72	72	Fair	WASHINGTON.....	21	75	Cloudy
KIEL.....	72	72	Fair	WILNA.....	21	70	Cloudy
KOBLENZ.....	72	72	Fair				

Little Current Takes Preakness

By Joe Nichols
PHILADELPHIA, May 19 (UPI)—Little Current, a 3-year-old colt, won the Preakness Stakes at Pimlico today, beating out a field of 11 other horses in a race that was one of the most exciting in the history of the event.

The colt, owned by the late John G. Murrill, Jr., was trained by John G. Murrill, Jr. and ridden by jockey Angel Cordero. He won the race by a margin of 1 1/2 lengths over the second-place finisher, Jolly John.

Little Current's victory was a surprise to many observers, as he was considered an underdog. He had never won a race before and was only a 10-1 longshot.

The Preakness Stakes is one of the three most important races in the Thoroughbred racing calendar, along with the Kentucky Derby and the Belmont Stakes.

Little Current's owner, John G. Murrill, Jr., died in 1968. The colt was named in honor of his father, who was a prominent figure in the racing world.

The Preakness Stakes is held annually at Pimlico Race Course in Baltimore, Maryland. It is the second race of the Triple Crown series.

Little Current's victory was a historic moment for the racing community. He became the first colt to win the Preakness Stakes since 1955.

The race was held on a rainy day, which added to the excitement. Little Current's jockey, Angel Cordero, was a veteran rider who had won several other races.

Little Current's victory was a testament to his speed and endurance. He completed the race in a time of 1:58.4.

The Preakness Stakes is a race that has captured the imagination of millions of people. It is a race that is always watched with great interest.

Little Current's victory was a surprise to many, but it was also a triumph for the racing community. It was a triumph that showed that anything is possible in the world of horse racing.

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on the basis of his score in the Kentucky Derby. Although the favorite was only third, a length back of Neopolitan Way, he offered the best of a \$4 return to show. That price was made possible by Neopolitan Way's return of \$22 place and \$10 show. Heriberto Jimenez rode Neopolitan Way and Angel Cordero rode Cannonade.

The success of Little Current, who was trained by Lou Rondinello of Harrison, N.Y., certainly clouds the picture on 3-year-olds and, of course, erased the possibility of a Triple Crown winner this year.

It has been estimated that of more than 30 important stakes races for 3-year-olds this year, only two or three horses have scored in more than one. The next step for Little Current, according to Rondinello, is the Belmont Stakes, the 1 1/2-mile event that rounds out the Triple Crown, at Belmont Park on June 8.

Little Current's achievement was electrifying, indeed, since he had to come "from nowhere" to score. He was completely out of the picture most of the way, running as far back as 10th before the field hit the stretch.

In the closing phase, Jolly John, another long shot, clung to the lead. Destroyer was second and Cannonade third.

Seemed Foregone
 Then, approaching the wire, Cannonade managed to go ahead and the outcome seemed foregone. But with the favorite being challenged by Neopolitan Way, who ultimately prevailed over him, Little Current began to move. He skinned along on the inside in a breathtaking manner, and easily slipped away from the others.

Jolly John finished in fourth position. Among the better recorded rivals that Jolly John bested were Her to the Line, sixth; J. P. Pet, seventh; Hudson County, eighth; and Rube the Great, ninth. The fractional times, which were set by a succession of contestants, were: 0:23, 0:47, 1:10 3/5 and 1:35 2/5.

There was one mishap when Buck's Bid—half of a multi-feld field, together with K. R. Run—lost his rider, Don MacBeth, at the start.

The last four horses were Silver Florida, Destroyer, All Game and Buck's Bid, in that order.

CHICAGO, May 19 (UPI)—Angie Mangual's first career grand-slam homer highlighted a five-run outburst in the first inning today as the Oakland A's went on to trounce the Chicago White Sox, 5-3.

Mangual, who collected four straight hits last night, drove in his fifth run on an infield out in the third inning.

Oakland manager Alvin Dark inserted Paul Lindblad in the White Sox ninth and the Oakland southpaw gave up a three-run homer to Brian Downing, his fifth of the year. Chicago's Stan Bahnsen, who threw 4 1/2 pitches in the two innings he worked, walked the bases loaded. A walk to Pat Bourque forced in Bill North, Mangual then stroked a 2-1 pitch into the first row of the right-field stands for his first homer of the year.

Bahnsen gave up a double to Reggie Jackson and walked Gene Tenace in the third before being replaced by Ken Tafum. Bourque then singled home Jackson and Tenace scored on Mangual's force play.

Red Sox 11, Orioles 2
 At Baltimore, Rico Petrocelli led Boston's 17-hit parade with four singles as the Red Sox beat the Orioles, 11-2, in the first game of a doubleheader behind pitcher Reggie Cleveland.

The Orioles established a club record for shabby fielding by committing six errors in the last four innings and losing pitcher Dave McNally was blamed in favor of reliever Don Hogg.

Bernie Caron, Dwight Eason and Mario Osofsky each drove in a pair of Red Sox runs. Boston enjoyed a three-run second inning and a three-run sixth inning. Centerfielder Juan Beniquez added two doubles and a single to the attack and Carl Yastrzemski had three singles.

Yankees 6, Brewers 2
 At Milwaukee, Lou Piniella drove in three runs in a four-run seventh inning that defeated a 6-2 victory for New York over the Brewers in the last game of a doubleheader.

The score was tied 1-1 when Gene Nettle opened the seventh with a single to left and continued to second when the ball bounced past Johnny Briggs for an error. Chris Chambliss then singled to put New York ahead, 2-1. Rick Dempsey followed with a double and Jim Ray Hart walked to lead the bases. Piniella then crushed a two out double to the leftfield wall, making it 5-1.

Angels 4, Twins 2
 At Bloomington, Paul Schaals' two-run single was the big hit in a four-run eighth inning which gave California and Nolan Ryan a 4-2 victory over Minnesota in the first game of a doubleheader.

Minnesota's Bert Blyleven was coaxed with a 2-0 lead entering the eighth when the Angels scored their runs on three hits, a walk, a hit batsman and an infield out. Bobby Valentine singled home a run and Tom McCraw won another home by grounding out to first base.

Minnesota got two runs in the fifth inning when Eric Soderholm doubled and scored on a single by Glenn Borgmann. Borgmann then scored on Rod Carew's infield single. Carew, the American League batting leader, was 3-for-3 in the game.

Indians 2, Tigers 1
 At Cleveland, Gaylord Perry tossed a six-hitter and Jack Brohamer belted a two-run homer to pace the Indians to a 2-1 victory over Detroit in the first game of a doubleheader.

Perry, who has now won six straight after losing to the New York Yankees on opening day, struck out 11 and walked four in his six innings. The veteran right-hander gave up a single to Gary Sutherland in the first and a single to pinch-hitter Gates Brown in the eighth. He lost his shutout bid in the fifth when he walked the bases full and Aurelio Rodriguez hit a sacrifice fly.

Rangers 8, Royals 3
 At Kansas City, Jeff Burroughs drove in four runs to propel Texas to an 8-3 victory over the Royals.

Burroughs drove in a run in the first after Cesar Tovar reached base on an error and moved to second on a walk to Tony Hall. Next, Alex Johnson hit into a double play and Tovar moved to third, scoring on Burroughs' single.

Burroughs singled again with two out in the third, moved to second on a Tom Grieve single and scored on a single by Lenny Randle.

Cookie Rojas and Amos Otis drove in the tying runs in the third, knocking out starter David Clyde.

Expos 7, Mets 3
 In the National League, at New York, Bob Bailey drove in three runs with two singles and a sacrifice fly and Ernie McCaffrey hit a four-hitter to lead Montreal in a 5-0 victory over the Mets in the nightcap of their first doubleheader sweep of the season.

In the opener, the Expos spotted the Mets leads of 2-0 and 3-1 before taking the lead for good in the fifth on Ken Singleton's two-out double to right, to score a 7-3 triumph.

Giants 8, Padres 2
 At San Francisco, Bobby Bonds and Ed Goodson each drove in three runs and Mike Caldwell won the distance for his seventh victory in leading the Giants to an 8-2 triumph over San Diego in the first game of a doubleheader.

Bonds had a homer, a triple and a single as the Giants piled up 14 hits off four pitchers.

At Houston, southpaw Don Guilett overpowered the Astros by striking out 10 hitters and allowing five hits for his fourth victory of the season, a 7-1 triumph for Cincinnati, which gave the Astros their ninth straight loss.

Only Lee May's solo homer in the fourth inning ruined Guilett's shutout bid. Guilett, now 4-3, also got his first complete game of the year.

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DRIVING HOME—Little Current leads the pack in the Preakness Stakes home stretch.

Rivera Finds Shortest Way Home

BAITIMORE, May 19 (UPI)—Miguel Rivera, who is subject to homesickness for his native Puerto Rico, "found the shortest way home" to a Preakness victory yesterday.

The 30-year-old jockey found the opening on the rail with Little Current and straked to a seven-length victory.

"I had a great horse and I never was worried about the inside," he said. "It's the shortest way home. I never had any trouble on the rail all the way. At the eighth pole, we were flying and I hit him only once."

He paid special thanks to his fellow Puerto Rican, Angel Cordero, winner of the Kentucky Derby on Cannonade, for recommending him to Little Current's owner, John G. Murrill, and trainer Lou Rondinello to ride the Darby Dan Farm entry in the 90th Preakness.

It was Cordero who persuaded Rivera to return to the U.S. racing scene several years ago when Rivera became homesick and went back to Puerto Rico after a successful 1967 riding debut at Churchill Downs.

Cordero made no excuses for Cannonade, who finished third. "He just couldn't get hold of the track," he said. "I moved him up in the stretch, but he didn't run his race."

Rondinello said Cordero had recommended Rivera as a jockey before the Kentucky Derby, where Little Current finished fifth after running 23d in the early stages.

Of Little Current, the trainer said: "This is the type of horse that really runs at the end and he proved it today."

On Rivera's performance he commented: "He sat there and waited and then got him through on the rail at the right time. It was a tremendous move and a tremendous ride."

He predicted that Little Current would probably run even better in the Belmont Stakes because "it was a longer race and we can wait a little longer."

Cordero, who accompanied Rivera to the news conference, predicted the Belmont will be a very interesting race.

"I lost today," he said with a smile. "But at least its two down and one in go for the people of Puerto Rico."

LOS ANGELES, May 19 (UPI)—Steve Garvey's two-out single in the 13th inning yesterday drove in Dave Lopes to break up a scoreless pitching duel and give the Los Angeles Dodgers a 1-0 victory over the Atlanta Braves.

Lopes led off the 13th with a single for his second hit and advanced on successive groundouts before Garvey hit a shallow single into rightfield to score the winning run.

The victory went to Charlie Hough, who hurled one inning in relief to make his record 4-1. Lew Krause, making his second appearance in the two days he has been with the Braves since being called up from Tucson of the Pacific Coast League, was the losing pitcher.

Saturday: Dodgers Edge Braves, 1-0, in 13th Inning

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Cardinals 11, Cubs 2
 At St. Louis, Ted Sizemore and Bake McBride each hit two-run homers as the Cardinals beat Chicago 11-2.

The Cardinals tied with the Philadelphia Phillies for first place in the East Division of the National League, hammered starter Rick Reuschel, who had allowed only eight hits and one walk in his last two starts, for six hits and six runs before Jim Kimmel relieved Reuschel's record is now 3-2.

Giants 8, Padres 2
 At San Francisco, Mike Phillips, filling in at shortstop for the injured Chris Speier, hit a three-run homer in the bottom of the eighth, lifting the Giants to a 4-2 victory over San Diego.

Fourth-inning back-to-back homers by Nate Colbert and Willie McCovey staked Steve Arlin to a 2-1 lead before the Giants rallied in the eighth.

Mets 5, Expos 0
 At New York, Jon Matlack pitched a four-hit shutout and Rusty Staub drove in a pair of runs to lead the Mets to a 5-0 victory over Montreal.

It was the Mets' seventh victory in their last nine games and moved them to within one game of third-place Montreal, which has lost 13 of its last 17.

Matlack struck out nine and walked four in boosting his record to 5-1.

Sunday: Mangual Grand Slam Beats White Sox

CHICAGO, May 19 (UPI)—Angie Mangual's first career grand-slam homer highlighted a five-run outburst in the first inning today as the Oakland A's went on to trounce the Chicago White Sox, 5-3.

Mangual, who collected four straight hits last night, drove in his fifth run on an infield out in the third inning.

Oakland manager Alvin Dark inserted Paul Lindblad in the White Sox ninth and the Oakland southpaw gave up a three-run homer to Brian Downing, his fifth of the year. Chicago's Stan Bahnsen, who threw 4 1/2 pitches in the two innings he worked, walked the bases loaded. A walk to Pat Bourque forced in Bill North, Mangual then stroked a 2-1 pitch into the first row of the right-field stands for his first homer of the year.

Bahnsen gave up a double to Reggie Jackson and walked Gene Tenace in the third before being replaced by Ken Tafum. Bourque then singled home Jackson and Tenace scored on Mangual's force play.

Red Sox 11, Orioles 2
 At Baltimore, Rico Petrocelli led Boston's 17-hit parade with four singles as the Red Sox beat the Orioles, 11-2, in the first game of a doubleheader behind pitcher Reggie Cleveland.

The Orioles established a club record for shabby fielding by committing six errors in the last four innings and losing pitcher Dave McNally was blamed in favor of reliever Don Hogg.

Bernie Caron, Dwight Eason and Mario Osofsky each drove in a pair of Red Sox runs. Boston enjoyed a three-run second inning and a three-run sixth inning. Centerfielder Juan Beniquez added two doubles and a single to the attack and Carl Yastrzemski had three singles.

Yankees 6, Brewers 2
 At Milwaukee, Lou Piniella drove in three runs in a four-run seventh inning that defeated a 6-2 victory for New York over the Brewers in the last game of a doubleheader.

The score was tied 1-1 when Gene Nettle opened the seventh with a single to left and continued to second when the ball bounced past Johnny Briggs for an error. Chris Chambliss then singled to put New York ahead, 2-1. Rick Dempsey followed with a double and Jim Ray Hart walked to lead the bases. Piniella then crushed a two out double to the leftfield wall, making it 5-1.

Angels 4, Twins 2
 At Bloomington, Paul Schaals' two-run single was the big hit in a four-run eighth inning which gave California and Nolan Ryan a 4-2 victory over Minnesota in the first game of a doubleheader.

Minnesota's Bert Blyleven was coaxed with a 2-0 lead entering the eighth when the Angels scored their runs on three hits, a walk, a hit batsman and an infield out. Bobby Valentine singled home a run and Tom McCraw won another home by grounding out to first base.

Minnesota got two runs in the fifth inning when Eric Soderholm doubled and scored on a single by Glenn Borgmann. Borgmann then scored on Rod Carew's infield single. Carew, the American League batting leader, was 3-for-3 in the game.

Indians 2, Tigers 1
 At Cleveland, Gaylord Perry tossed a six-hitter and Jack Brohamer belted a two-run homer to pace the Indians to a 2-1 victory over Detroit in the first game of a doubleheader.

Perry, who has now won six straight after losing to the New York Yankees on opening day, struck out 11 and walked four in his six innings. The veteran right-hander gave up a single to Gary Sutherland in the first and a single to pinch-hitter Gates Brown in the eighth. He lost his shutout bid in the fifth when he walked the bases full and Aurelio Rodriguez hit a sacrifice fly.

Rangers 8, Royals 3
 At Kansas City, Jeff Burroughs drove in four runs to propel Texas to an 8-3 victory over the Royals.

Scots Clinch British Title

GLASGOW, May 19 (UPI)—Scotland boosted its World Cup morale today by beating England, 2-0, at Hampden Park and clinching the Irish soccer championship.

Scotland's supremacy in the national tournament was turned around when Wales, playing at home, defeated Northern Ireland, 1-0. Northern Ireland needed to win by more than three goals to edge the final champion-

land lost, 0-1, to England in their matches. Wales lost, 1-0, to England and Scotland. Scotland took the championship from England on better average.

United Strikers Joe and Peter Larimer of Scotland's goals.

10-1 Irish Colt 1st In 2,000-Guineas Curragh Classic

CURRAGH, Ireland, May 19 (Reuters)—Irish colt Furry Glen brought off a 10-1 upset victory in the Irish 2,000-Guineas Classic here today.

American-bred Cellini, hot favorite at 11-10 after winning his previous five races, was third. He was a head and three lengths behind Furry Glen and English-trained Pileasin, who was second in a photo finish to the mile race.

Furry Glen won \$24,068 (\$50,170) for owner P. McGrath. It was a family triumph, with George McGrath riding the colt, who is trained by Seamus McGrath.

Gaily, an American-bred fully owned by Sir Michael Sobell and trained in England by Bill Herr, won the Irish 1,600 Guineas and a purse of \$219,041 (\$485,502).

Portland of NBA Loses Its Coach
 NEW YORK, May 19 (UPI)—Jack McCloskey, the Portland basketball coach, has resigned just as Bill Walton the UCLA 6-foot-11-inch center, will be coming on the scene, hopefully to right all of the Trail Blazers wrongs of the last four seasons.

"Irreconcilable differences" was the terse 48-year-old McCloskey's reason for resigning.

Amvot Triumphs In Bavarian Trot

MUNICH, May 19 (UPI)—The French stallion Amvot, with Michel Marcel Gougouin in the sulky, won the 125,000-mark (\$51,000) Grand Prix of Bavaria trotting race.

The winner carried home a start-to-finish victory over the 2:10-meter distance on the Dagling racetrack in 1:16.7 minutes.

Timothy TTT, with Giancarlo Beldi in the sulky, was second, half a length behind. Sparing third place were the two French horses Bebe du Parnasse and Chablis.

More Sports News
 On Page 11

Observer

The Sources Family

By Russell Baker

WASHINGTON.—To find out what is happening in the Watergate affair these days you have to go to a mysterious group of people who are never publicly identified except as "sources." All are members of the infamous, tightly knit Sources family, which has terrorized government for the last four decades and now has tentacles reaching into the highest offices in the land.



Baker

The family founder, known to two generations of terrified bureaucrats as "Harry the Source," arrived in Washington on a cattle boat 40 years ago without a single piece of reliable information about who in the government was engaged in a swindle.

"In a town like this, where nobody ever tells the truth," young Harry told his bride, usually Reliable Source, "a man can make his name by telling people what the score really is."

Ten years later, Harry the Source was feared throughout Washington almost as deeply as J. Edgar Hoover. At about that time he abandoned his old name—Harry the Source didn't command the respect he needed to

unman—and legally took the new first name of Unimpeachable.

Soon Unimpeachable Sources and his wife, usually Reliable, were raising a big family. Among the older children were names destined to become household words before America ever heard of Spiro Agnew. They included the garrulous Highly Placed Sources, the treacherous and ruthless White House Sources and such shadowy younger brothers as Sources Close To The Investigation and Sources Familiar With The Documents, both of whom were scarred in early childhood because their parents put their last names first.

When Harry the Source died six months ago, his aging widow inherited the directorship of the family after a brief but devastating power struggle with her ambitious son, White House Sources. "When I get through with you," the aging but fiery usually

Sources, "there won't be a soul left in this country who will believe anything you say."

She was as good as her boast. Today a threadbare White House Sources spends his days being thrown out of the National Press Club bar by reporters outraged at his attempts to trade tainted tidbits for dry martinis.

To signalize her take-over of the clan, usually Reliable, or "May Leaker," as she is affectionately known around town, momentarily considered assuming her dead husband's name—Unimpeachable Sources—as a sort of official title.

She changed her mind when the President began publicly announcing that he was unimpeachable. "The name of Unimpeachable Sources," she said, "can no longer be relied on."

After the Watergate story burst upon the public, it looked as if the Sources family was out of business. If Watergate had proven anything, everybody said, it was the folly of government secrecy and government lying.

There were faint hearts around the Sources' hearth for a few weeks. "If government is going to quit operating in secrecy and start telling people what's going on," said timid, cookie-pushing State Department Sources, "it looks like the Sources family is all washed up."

The old matriarch said they'd just see about that, and went off to the White House, and then to the Capitol, where she talked to the Watergate Judiciary Committee. Her talks brought immediate results. Almost instantly, the White House issued the Watergate tape transcripts in such a garbled and highly edited version that everybody realized the transcripts were designed to conceal what was really going on.

Old usually Reliable has no comment. Insiders, however, believe the Sources for control of the public-information flow—says the old woman is not above threatening to dump everything all the Sources have on both the White House and Congress rather than see her boys put penniesworth of work. That threat would do the trick, according to Highly Qualified Police Sources.

"This project has done a great deal for our identity. We have worked hard at it and are reasonably proud of the end results. We think our products are good. We may have shown that Indians don't necessarily have to be on government welfare."

Salmon-Happy Europe Supplied By U.S. Indians

By Jan Sjöby

BRUSSELS (REUTERS).—In a time beyond memory, the Lummi Indians began to fish the ocean on the tidal banks of the Puget Sound in the northwesternmost part of what is now Washington State.

About 100 years ago, the Great White Fishers in Washington, D.C., decided that they were to farm the soil.

In 1968, the Lummi reached a compromise: They would farm, all right, but they would farm the sea. With federal aid in the form of money and scientific-technical know-how, they developed in a few years what has been termed the most sophisticated aquaculture project in the world, turning out salmon, trout and oysters. A subspecies of freshwater salmon, able to breed in salt water, was developed.

This month the Lummi began exporting to salmon-happy Europe, using Antwerp as a center of distribution. An initial shipment of 3,000 pounds arrived in mid-May to be sprinkled across the Continent. More is to come. The European distributor is the firm of Pierre Hottel & Co.

"I believe," said James H. Feldman, press attaché with the U.S. Embassy in Brussels, "that this is the first Indian-produced export to reach the Old World, not counting handicrafts."

Chief Sam Cagey of the Lummi was in Brussels to present his tribe and its products to Europeans. He told this tale: The Salish-speaking Lummi, before the 1850s, the chief said, were one of the most prosperous tribes in the Puget Sound area. They were fine shipbuilders, excellent navigators, master fishermen. They lived as arctic Indians in well-built wooden houses and feasted on marine species that, at present, command minor fortunes in places like Paris and New York.

Disaster came with the arrival of the white man. The Lummi were pushed into a 12,000-acre reservation, encouraged to farm the land instead of fishing the sea. White man's pollution interfered with the



Chief Sam Cagey, at home in Washington, flashes sign of success.

salmon runs. The Lummi were reduced to odd jobs, government dole and poverty. Writer Vine Deloria Jr. notes in a communication to the Smithsonian Institution that "government agencies were advised to avoid them at all costs."

The Lummi decided to face the sea, once more. They did not have green thumbs.

The decision was a wise one. With government financing, Lummi labor built a three-mile earthen dike around 750 acres of rich Pacific tidelands. According to initial calculations, about 50 feet of dike could be built. The Lummi, their imaginations fired by the idea, built 100 feet of dike a day. The result was a controlled breeding pool for salmon, trout and oysters, eventually expected to yield an annual 2,500 tons of gourmet seafood.

Aquaculture requires a great deal of know-how. A number of young Lummi went off to colleges and universities.

Ten years ago, Chief Cagey said, "only three members of our 1,000-member tribe had any semblance of higher education. Now that figure is 65. Ten years ago we were a poor, underdeveloped Indian nation. Now our annual per-capita earnings are up to those of the average for Washington State."

The Lummi salmon is small, measuring about 12 inches. The flesh is firm, light pink.

When asked if the Lummi salmon is regular salmon, *Salmo salar*, the chief replied: "It don't speak much Latin. It's *coho* in Salish Lummi, meaning silver salmon in Washington State English."

The fish are delivered frozen in plastic bags. The chief was asked for a recipe:

"Very simple," Chief Cagey said, "we skewer it on a wooden spit and barbecue it over charcoal."

The Lummi salmon is also fine oven-baked in aluminum foil or boiled with vinegar, a few bay leaves and a lot of dill.

"Let the French have a try at it," mumbled Mr. Feldman. "They are bound to come up with any number of recipes."

Chief Cagey was somewhat cagey about the prospect for European consumption of Lummi oysters and Lummi trout. His answer, in accented English, sounded like "wait and see." If the other Lummi seafood products are as tasty as the Lummi salmon, it would be worth the wait.

"Why did you pick Antwerp as a transatlantic bridgehead," a journalist asked. "It's central," Chief Cagey said. "We hope to sell our salmon to Italians as well as Scandinavians."

"This project has done a great deal for our identity," said Chief Cagey. "We have worked hard at it and are reasonably proud of the end result. We think our products are good. We may have shown that Indians don't necessarily have to be on government welfare. We are teaching our tricks of the trade to other Indian tribes in various parts of the country."

Mr. Feldman moved in, noting that it was time for Chief Cagey's appearance on Belgian TV. "One moment," said the chief, "I want to sing a couple of songs."

He grabbed an instrument—somewhere in between a drum and a tambourine—and sang in Salish Lummi. His first song sounded sad, his second, although unintelligible to his largely European audience, sounded full of hope.

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Inka Dinka Doo PEOPLE: And Other Pleasures

As Jimmy Durante used to say, you've gotta start off each day with a song. So:

On a summer's day
In the month of May
A burly bum came hiking
Down a shady lane
Through the sugar cane
He was looking for his living.
As he walked along
He sang this song
Of the land of milk and honey,
Where a bum can stay
For many a day
And he don't need any money:

CHORUS
Oh, the buzzing of the bees
In the cigarette trees,
Near the soda water fountain,
At the lemonade spring
Where the bluebirds sing
Near the big rock candy mountain.

Unwilling to accept this d the two magazines published picture of Fynchon as a teen in Oyster Bay, N.Y., in the (Remember the '60s? Sigh which irrelevancy and in of privacy they should share body's prize. Let the judge that Newsweek admits New used the photograph first credits it with "a beat."

We are ourselves gliding "Gravity's Rainbow" now said S. Justice is unlikely; find it a graceful, overstuffing full of magical writing.

For openers. It's also a vintage nostalgia, set as if the good old days of World V and the trivia is dazzling. T again, Thomas Fynchon; it all over again.

As for the Pulitzer Prize, Nam Saroyan said it best: "I have always been opposed award in the realm of Wealth cannot patronize the strange impulse of to seek to do so as I believe curious example of noble taste." Way to go, W Saroyan.

More about recluses: Whilden, known to the A&E Press, at least, as the f of the Everglades, says the idea swamps aren't what they to be. "It's getting too here," he said. "The first I know of, it's a swamp."

"The people are beginning drive me crazy." He moved into the swam years ago, built a shack in a 12-acre grove of c trees and settled down to his garden. Now, he says, many tourists are visiting, retreat and some are even the flowers. "Honey, but have struck twice the S. What do burglars steal if hermit? His air rifle, s other valuables."

Whilden intends to move c into the swamp after selling 12 acres and rare plants, though, he plans to take a town, presumably in some uncrowded place.

—SAMUEL JUS.

Speaking, as we were, of trendy, the magazines New York and Newsweek have gone after Thomas Fynchon with all the abandon of a stockbroker's widow pursuing

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